

THE
ARRAIGNMENT
OF
REBELLION,
OR THE
IRRESISTIBILITY
OF
Sovereign Powers

Vindicated and Maintain'd in a
REPLY to a LETTER.

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*My Son fear thou the Lord and the King; and meddle not
with them that are given to change. Prov. xxiv. 21.*

*Ætas autem tua incidit in id bellum, cujus altera pars sceleris
nimium habuit, altera felicitatis parum. Cic. lib. 2. De Off.*

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T O T H E

Chance CUSTOMER,

O R

Casual READER.

THAT thou mayst not lose thy Time, or thy Money, in the Purchase or Perusal of this Pamphlet ; I think my self bound in Justice, to acquaint thee before hand, that thou wilt meet with nothing New in it. Both the *Letter*, and *Reply*, being written in the Time of *Oliver's* Usurpation.

The *Letter* was sent to me from a Friend, with whom I had a long and intimate Acquaintance. He was a Gentleman of that Worth and Candour, and Nobleness of Mind, as was not, I believe, to be match'd among all his Party. To whom yet he came in but late, (insomuch that even *Barnabas* also was carried away with their Dissimulation) though I could never say he was truly *Theirs*, having utterly refused to sit in Judgment upon the King, though he was nominated and appointed by them. But he still preserved
blow.

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his particular Regard and Esteem for me; whereby we continued our former Conversation and Correspondence. Nay, we were grown to such a mutual Confidence in each other, that as I could freely write or speak to him what I thought fit, without any Fear of being betrayed; so he, being of a free and plentiful Fortune, gave me Commission to his Cashier in *London* to take up Money as often as I pleased, not exceeding Ten Pounds at a Time, to bestow where I saw Need. Which accordingly I often made use of, and always bestow'd it, as he knew I would, upon the most Needy, and best Deserving of our suffering Clergy.

This Letter here printed was the last I received from him. Which (abating only the Complements and Civilities wherewith it was enclosed) I give thee whole and entire, as it came to my Hands. While I was writing my Reply, and had almost finished it, News was brought me that my Friend was dead. Notwithstanding this, I went on with it, and having brought it to an Issue, communicated it immediately to my honoured Friend and Acquaintance, Dr. *Hammond*: Who bestowing many kind Words upon it, (yet not without animadverting on a Phrase or two, which was soon amended) press'd me earnestly to make it publick. Hereupon I went presently to *London*; and address'd my self among the Booksellers, to see if I could meet with any among them that would

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would adventure with me so far as to get it printed. I went first to a Stationer, whom I could name, then living under St. Dunstan's Church in Fleet-street, who having formerly printed two or three Sheets of mine against the Engagement, I hoped might be persuaded to attempt this also. But he having perus'd the Papers for some Time, delivered them to me again, as too perillous for him to engage in. Then I went to another, whom I will not name, of whom yet I less doubted, chiefly as having Dr. Hammond's Recommendation. But he having had the Perusal of them likewise, for some Time, found them be like too hot, or too heavy; too dangerous, or too dull for him to meddle with. So that I was forced to return home with my Papers, *Re infecta*. Where throwing them aside, I never had them from that Time to this in my Eye, or in my Thoughts, to my best Remembrance; not since his Majesty's Restauration, I am sure, till the 30th of January 1683. When searching for a Paper I had formerly writ on the Occasion of that sad Day, These likewise fell into my Hands. I was strangely surpris'd at it; and hastily running them over, I streight delivered them to a learned and judicious Neighbour of mine, to see if there was any thing in them that might yet be useful to the Publick. He tells me quickly, That these Times having likewise a strong Tendency to Rebellion, nothing that had

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been said, or could be said, on that Point, would be unfit or unseasonable to obstruct against it. And having read over the Papers, he added further, That since any new Commotions or Rebellion, must be always bottomed upon the Pretentions of the Old; those Pretensions being clearly and advantageously laid down in the *Letter*, and as fully and clearly, to his thinking, answered and taken away in the *Reply*, I must not suppress them any longer: But he impatiently exhorted me to make them publick.

Upon this Encouragement I was persuaded, even at this Time of the Day, to submit them to the Wisdom and Authority of my Superiors. And wrapping my self up in the Interest and Peace of the Community, am contented (if they think fit) to expose my private Infirmities, and even the Weakness of my younger Years, without any Variation at all, to thy View and Censure. Farewell.

J. A.

THE

THE LETTER:

S I R,

THAT Instance of Jaël, it seems, was it which gave you the greatest Offence. And I must confess, I think it was the weakest Part of my Discourse, and most unfit to have Stress laid on it (if Edification rather than Conquest had been sought): But yet, if I had been rightly apprehended in it, I believe it would not have produced that Effect. For I was far from making that a Rule, or Example, for other Men to act by, without the same Spirit and Cause to justify them in the Action. And so far from making any Rule of the Old Testament to be a certain Guide for us now; That I do not hold that any Rule of the New Testament will justify an Action that is conformed thereto, unless it be done also in a New Testament Spirit. And that the obliging Men to some certain Measures of Doctrine or Worship, gathered from the New Testament, without Consideration of the Suitableness of the several Growths of Christians thereto, has been the Foundation of all that Formality, Ignorance, and implicit Faith, which has built up, and maintain'd the Babel of our Christian World. All the Drift of that Instance was but to shew, that the People of God now (or some few of them) may possibly have the same extraordinary Warrant against this Babel, as those of Old had against that, and against the Canaanites before, But for those who are exercised in those Ways

by Virtue of such an Example, or by the Observation of the Letter of Prophecies (which yet speak plainly enough of the Destruction of this Babel in warlike Way by the People of God) I am persuaded, that if they have not a true Spirit proportionable, they will thereby but bring the greater Wrath upon themselves. For we shall find that the Mystery of Babylon reaches farther than we are aware of. For though it be held forth only under the Form of the City and Empire of Rome, as it was divided into Kingdoms, and united again to that one City under that Ecclesiastical Head; yet we are to learn thereby, That it is the evil Principles, both in relation to Spirituals and Civils, which ruled most eminently in that Form, that is intended; and that every other Form that partakes of them, is so far forth guilty of the same Condemnation. And doubtless the greater Condemnation is due to any State, or Person that shall condemn that Principle in that or any other gross Appearance; and yet shall maintain the same Principles themselves in a more refined and hypocritical Way. And what's this evil Principle? but that implicit Faith in Spirituals, and implicit Obedience in Civils, by which the Governors both of Church and State have held that Holy Seed in Bondage, and hindered the Improvement of that Image of God in Holiness and Righteousness, which was so much defaced in the first Fall. And that this did reign eminently in our former Government, is apparent enough by those Principles which denied any Power to bound or limit the King against his Will; or to be above the Church in the Interpretation of Scriptures, to a particular Man's Conscience. And, I wish I could as well excuse these Powers that succeed, as I could condemn the former. But this only is to be said; That if that Zeal were right, it will lead the same Persons on to the Destruction of what is of the same Corruption in themselves, and others under their Power. And if the Lord do not persuade their Hearts to condemn themselves,



selves, he will raise up others to condemn them, as they
 have done those before them. And though this Remedy
 may seem to you worse than the Disease; yet there is
 none that can establish any in so absolute a Way, as
 to prevent the Danger of these kind of Disturbances.
 The strongest Babel that can be devised to keep a Peo-
 ple from being scattered into these Confusions, is that
 Form of absolute Monarchy, and that in an hereditary
 Way. But yet that must admit of an Opportunity for
 a justifiable Resistance, and so of the evil Consequences
 which we would so much avoid. For suppose the King
 to be Absolute; yet he may be either a Fool, or mad,
 or otherwise distemper'd, so as to command those Things
 which are absolutely destructive to that Society, which
 he is bound to preserve. In such a Case there must be
 some Council, or single Person, that must govern the
 Common-wealth in his Stead, for a Time at least. Now
 if this be so, there then they must also judge, when he
 is in such a Condition, or in any other as destructive;
 and how long he continues therein; and not he himself,
 who will be still the more incapable of owning his Dis-
 ability, by how much he is really disabled. But sup-
 pose the restoring the old Form of Government would
 restore that absolute Peace and Happiness to the Na-
 tion which is desired: Yet the Means which is main-
 tained to bring it about, is worse than the Want of
 it. For that Principle which makes it absolutely neces-
 sary for the People to expose their Lives and Fortunes
 for it, and to keep those Oaths and Covenants which
 were made to it with that Hazard, will make them lose
 their very Being to gain a well Being (and be never the
 nearer it neither.) For if the People in this scatter'd
 and disarm'd Posture, should hold an avowed Allegi-
 ance to the former Government, they expose themselves
 all to the Sword, as Traytors to this. And if they
 pretend an Acknowledgment to this, that can avail
 nothing to the other's legal Right, but render those Peo-
 ple

ple the more inexcusable that shall be taken in such double Dealing. For my own part, I have been as much afraid as any, of giving the least Encouragement to any thing that has been set up by these extraordinary Ways. But, I doubt, I have missed many Opportunities of doing good, by that Nicety. And, when the Lord has once declared his Will by a full Possession; and seconded it with so many signal Providences; I think we may do well to cease fighting against his Prerogative, which is to dispose of the Kingdoms of Men to whom he pleases, and not to be asked what he does, though he should give them to the basest of Men. And truly I have found it but the fleshly and beastly Part in me that has murmured at these Changes, and will not look up to Heaven to ascribe all Power to that wise Watcher and Disposer of all Things. Methinks if that 4th Chapter of Daniel were seriously perused, it should hint something that might be for our Satisfaction in this Point.

THE REPLY.

S I R,

AFTER so long a Demurr, to which I was invited first by your own Commands, I should think the Season wholly past for a Reply, only that the Royalty and Prerogative of that Cause for which I plead, falls by no means under the Commensuration of Time, nor can be prejudiced by any Intervals or *Interregnums* whatsoever; according to that known Maxim in our Law, *Nullum tempus occurrit Regi*. And therefore the Vote for Non-addresses being now recalled and superseded by Word of Mouth when I was last with you, I take the Freedom to examine your Letter. But still preserving the special Favour and Charity of your Design in sending it to me, whole and unquestioned.

SECTION I.

And first to begin with *Jael*, who stands in the Tent-door and Entrance of your Letter. She being in Arrears (as you remember) before, and the Occasion of Offence; I do not find how what you have laid down here in her Name, can pass for good Payment and make all even. For my Exception against your Instance of *Jael* was this: That

That what was done by her indeed as an Act of great Faith, in believing the Word of God, and acknowledging that Right which the Children of *Israel* had to the Land of *Canaan*, and so accordingly helping them against an Usurper and Oppressor, (who by the express Word of the Lord was sentenc'd to be destroyed) should be so far perverted and abused by you, as to urge her Way and Manner only of doing it, viz. by Dissimulation and Treachery, to justify the same Practises now of Lying and Treason, &c. for the bringing about what you please to call and fancy a good Work.

To this I answered. Admitting, but not granting, that *Jael* did well (not only *bonum*, but *venè*) what she thus did, (for it might be Weakness and Failing in her, for any thing the Scripture says to the contrary. And that so it was we shall afterwards evince.) Yet it will not at all follow, that the same Way, though to as good an End, is lawful or practicable now. For that there is this vast Difference betwixt us and her: That in her Time, and to her (she being not a *Jew*) it must be remembered (and so not concerned or acquainted with the Law of *Moses*) there was no such express Law or Revelation from Heaven against it. And where no Law is there is no Transgression: God Rom. 4. 15. winking at those Times of Ignorance, Acts 17. 30. whereas now he commands all Men Col. 3. 9. very where, Not to lye one to another; 1 Thes. 4. 6. and, That no Man go beyond or defraud Matt. 5. 33. his Brother in any Matter: Not to forswear our selves, but to perform unto Psal. 15. 5. the Lord our Oaths: And to keep our Promise, though it were to our own Hindrance; and the like. The Administration of the Spirit then differing from that, since, and generally under the Gospel, not only in the Degrees of it, whereby we are obliged

obliged to a higher Pitch and Proficiency now in the same Duty, than they of old ; but also in the very Kind and Species of it, whereby many Things were lawful and indifferent then, which now are not so : Nay, many Things pious and holy then, which are now wicked and damnable.

And for full Proof this, I instanc'd particularly in *Elias*. Whose calling for Fire from 2 Kin. 1. 10 Heaven, and destroying his Enemies, was questionless in him an Act of Zeal and Piety acceptable to God. Whereas the same Motion and Offer is condemned by Christ in his Disciples, as being wholly inconsistent and contrary to that Spirit He was to plant in them ; or to that Manifestation of the Spirit rather of suffering and saving, He came to shew forth among Men. *For I am not come, says He, to destroy Mens Lives, but to save them.* And certainly all that are Luk. 9. 56. called Christians, or pretend to his Spirit, must so walk as they have Christ for their Pattern.

SECTION II.

To all which, You are pleased to answer for your self. That you are so far from making any Rule of the Old Testament, much less any Practice there, a certain Guide for us now without the same Spirit ; That you do not hold that any Rule of the New Testament will justify an Action that is conform'd thereunto, unless it be done also in a New Testament Spirit.

Truly, Sir, what you say is very right, That a New Testament Spirit, *i. e.* Charity, is a necessary Qualification to denominate any Action to be truly good. For, *Though I bestow all my Goods to feed the Poor, and have not Charity,* 1 Cor. 13. 3. *saith St. Paul, it profiteth me nothing.* But this comes not home at all to the Case. For the Question between

between us is not, Whether any Action can be good now without Charity? But, Whether Charity, or a good End, can make any Action (how foul and lawless soever) to be good? *Bonum*, say the Schoolmen, *fit ex Integris*; *Malum è quolibet defectu*. To make a Thing evil, it is sufficient that it fail in any one Circumstance; but it must be perfect and complete throughout to make it good. And therefore, though to be done without Charity, or a New Testament Spirit, be enough indeed to make any Action evil, it will by no means follow from hence, That where-ever Charity is, the Action must streight be good: Supposing it to fail yet in some other Particular. For then all Actions will be alike: Treason, Perjury, Lying, and the rest, in an equal Degree of Vertue and Capacity to good, as Alms, Prayers and Martyrdom. As neither of them good, if not done in Charity; so by that they may all be sublim'd into necessary Acts of Piety and Religion. Whereas these Things are so intrinsically evil, and *ex natura Rei*, that they can never be otherwise. Lying (for example) being so contrary to the Nature and Essence of God, who is Truth it self, that he can no more lye, than not be God. *God cannot lye*. And Joh. 14. 6. what he cannot do himself, no Spirit Num. 33. 19. of his, whether of the Old or New Testament, can authorize or approve any in the doing of it.

But yet farther. The Question is, Whether in the New Testament Times, an Old Testament Spirit can be pretended to justify any in those old Practices? For so your professing not to make that Instance of *Jael* a Rule or Example for any to act by without the same Spirit; and afterwards, That those who are exercised in these Ways by virtue of such an Example, if they have not a Spirit proportionable, will bring but the greater Wrath upon them.

themselves, does pretty well imply what I only charged you with; That you pretend therefore to the Spirit of *Isaiah*; and so fall back from Christ to *Moses*; from the Gospel to the Law; Nay, from that glorious midday-light in the Gospel (which he that runs may read) to secure your selves, as in *Isaiah*, in the Darkness and Ignorance of the first Times.

The Old Testament Spirit was indeed the Spirit of God; but fitted and proportion'd to Circumcision, the Old Testament, or Old Covenant it self to which it served. Which being now out-dated and superseded by a better, a Covenant established upon better Promises: There

Heb. 8. 6.

is likewise a better Spirit, that is to say, a higher and more excellent Administration of the same Spirit in proportion to it. For, as the Apostle

Heb. 7. 12.

argues, That the Priesthood being chang'd, there is made of necessity a Change also of the Law: So the Law or Testament being chang'd, there is made of necessity a Change also of the Spirit. Tho' both from God, the Old Testament, and the Old Spirit, yet both to be altered and made better by him. *Ye know not what Spirit ye are of,* (saith our Saviour to his three Disciples)

Luk. 9. 55.

For the Son of Man came not to destroy, &c. Thereby evidently distinguishing his Spirit not in these three Disciples only, but in all that belong to the Son of Man, and own him for their Saviour, from that destroying Spirit of *Elias*, which ruled and govern'd in the Old Testament.

The Law was given in Thunder and Lightning, as being the Letter of Condemnation, and so to be managed by a killing and destroying Spirit, always expressing it self in Zeal, and fiery Indignation (and from hence came that *Jus Zelotarum* among the Jews) as in *Phinehas*, *Elias*, and the whole Tribe of *Levi*, who consecrated themselves to the Service of God, and Attendance

Exod. 23.
28. 29.

his Altar in the Blood of their Brethren. Whereas the Gospel of Peace coming down like the Rain into a Fleece of Wooll, as being the Ministry for reconciling Sinners to God; of seeking and saving that which was lost, is accordingly actuated with a Spirit of Charity born upon the Wings of a mighty Love, and immortal Patience; spreading and stretching it self to our greatest Enemies and the highest Opposers of Religion for Edification, and not for their Destruction. And in a contrary Method to the *Levitical* Consecration in the Old Testament, a main Qualification to adapt or consecrate any one for the Service of the New, is, *That*

he be no Striker. The old Spirit of Zeal is become it self now a Work of the Flesh. Mercy, Meekness and Moderation are the proper Vertues, and a New Commandment of Love superinstituted in the stead of it. *Old Things are passed away, behold, all Things are become New.* A New Testament, and a New Spirit, like new Wine put into new Bottles for the Preservation of both.

And as the old Covenant of Circumcision, which, while it was in force, was urged by God with so much Strictness and Severity, that the omitting of it was instant Death and Excision (Whosoever among you is not circumcised, that Soul shall be cut off from his People) is yet become in the New Testament not unnecessary only, but far more hurtful and pernicious in the Use of it, than the Contempt or Neglect of it could formerly have been.

If ye be circumcised, says St. Paul, Christ shall profit you nothing. So the Old Testament Spirit, which was accounted for Righteousness to *Phinehas, Elias, and the rest,* will bring as swift

Destruction upon any now who pretend to it. As many of you as are justified by the Law are

are fallen from Grace. 'Tis a plain renouncing and bidding farewell to the Spirit of Grace, to justify your Actions by the Spirit of the Law; a preferring *Moses* before Christ; a direct apostatizing to the Sect of the *Jews*; and the most hateful Opposition to Christ and his Gospel. Which is made so much more odious than the Judaism of Old, in as much as it pretends to this from a Height and Growth in Christianity: A Judaism not from the *Jews*, but *Judas*, who, in appearance of Kindness and greater Interest and Familiarity with his Master, did shamefully betray him. Thus they are, forsooth, lifted above Ordinances; and while the rest of the Apostles are put upon Duties, Watching and Praying in the Garden; while all other Christians are under Command to their Superiors, defrauding no Man, Truth in their Promises, and the like; and not thinking our selves worthy to sit down with Christ on his Throne, esteem it a special Privilege to enjoy him in his Sacraments; *To shew forth the Lord's Death till he come*

(as we are bidden) in the Holy Supper; 1 Cor. 11. 26.
and to be born again of Water and the Joh. 3. 3.
Spirit; as a necessary Condition of seeing the Kingdom of God: *Judas* rushes in with a hasty Kiss:

And so these overgrown Christians with their Lanthorns, and Weapons, and armed Men, fall presently a kissing of Christ; no longer to be kept off at the Distance of a Sacrament, or the Reverence of a Duty; but under colour of a greater Growth and Interest in him, betray him manifestly to the *Jews*, and that Old Testament Spirit, in all his Laws, and Sacraments, and Services, to be crucified by them at their Will.

That there are indeed several Degrees and Growths in Christianity is perfectly true. There is the Babe, and the perfect Man in Christ: There is the weaker and the stronger Christian; and that,

both in respect of Knowledge, and in respect of Grace, whereby some Christians are more regenerate, have mortified farther than others : Some Christians are more knowing, and so at greater Freedom and Liberty than others. But yet certainly they are all within the same Inclosure of Obedience to the Laws and Commandments of Christ. The less knowing Christian may perhaps miss some Part of that Liberty which Christ hath purchased for him ; but the most knowing must not dare to transgress the least Law or Command of his Master. The Freedom only lies in Matters of a middle Nature ; which being under no Command or Prohibition at all, the weak or ignorant Christian does, by his want of Knowledge, conceive otherwise ; and so obliges himself to do or not to do accordingly. And thus likewise in the Growth of Grace, and Degrees of Mortification ; he that mortifies least, must yet be supposed to mortifie every known Lust, and to practise an uniform Obedience to the Laws of Christ. He that is partial to himself in either, is but almost a Christian. The Degree consists not in mortifying this Sin which another does not ; or in obeying this Law or Command of Christ, which another Christian, on the same Occasion, would not : But in mortifying this Sin in a greater Measure ; hating it with a more perfect Hatred ; watching more diligently against the Occasions, and Provocations which lead to it ; praying more frequently and earnestly against it. So in obeying the Command with a greater Desire and Delight, *Virtutis amore*, making it our own Choice ; judging the Command most fit and reasonable ; the Yoke to be an easy Yoke ; and so our Obedience and Submission to it the very pleasureable Part of our Lives. And yet farther enlarging our Mortification to some Freedoms and Indulgencies allow'd unto us by God and his Church, wherein we think fit to restrain

our

our selves. *All things are lawful for me* (says the Apostle) *but I will not be brought under the Power of any.* And thus in our Obedience; not confining it barely to the plain Laws and Commands of our Lord, but aiming likewise at his Counsels, and endeavouring towards Perfection. And while we might without Sin, nay, do well, as *St. Paul* says, by giving our Virgin in Marriage; yet resolve by giving her not in Marriage to do better. Put our selves with the Apostle into the Theatre, when we might have the Benefit to escape Persecution. Labour with our Hands when we have a Power to live of the Gospel; and the like.

SECTION. III.

But yet, all this makes nothing at all against obliging Men to some certain Measures of Doctrine and Worship gather'd out of the New Testament. For that some Doctrines there are in the New Testament so apprimely necessary, that he is not a Christian that is ignorant of them, or does not believe them. Some Parts of God's Worship are of such universal Interest and Concernment, that no Christian Church or Communion can be without them. And to pretend a Weakness or Unsuitableness of our Spirits unto them, is to profess our selves really Infidels. And for other Doctrines, as Stars of a lesser Magnitude, yet certainly God's revealing them unto us in a New Testament, does lay an Obligation upon us of receiving them, as soon as they are propounded unto us by the Authority of his Word. And so for our Worship, if it take in all that is commanded by God in this Matter, and add nothing forbidden by him, supplying the rest with suitable Respect to God and our selves, and the

whole Church, I know not what Fault there can be in obliging Men to an Observation of it.

Weakness of Conscience was very pleadable in the Days of the Apostles, and first planting of Christianity. When, all Men being *Jews* or *Gentiles*, the Christian *Jews* were to receive Doctrines, and Sacraments, utterly destructive to what they had received before from the Mouth of God, which was given unto them by the Ministry of Angels; confirm'd by Miracles; and endeared unto them by the Wisdom and Witness of all Ages. And no marvel if pious Souls stuck now and then, could not instantly unlearn the Religion of the Prophets, and Patriarchs of God and his holy Angels; nor swallow down every Camel without chewing. And so the *Gentiles* were brought, by Christianity, into Principles and Practises, where they were not only to forget what they had been formerly taught and brought up in, and wherein they had lived; but utterly to condemn it, and themselves for it. All the divine Mysteries and Rites whereby they were accepted by their Gods; admired in the World; made auspicious and lucky in their several Undertakings; were now to be mortified as so many beastly and unnatural Lusts: Their noblest and most heroical Vertues, as Ambition, Pride, Revenge, and the like, instantly metamorphosed into so many horrid Vices. Their Heaven turned into Hell; and their Gods not to be rejected barely as no Gods, but to be hated and abominated by them as downright Devils. And in lieu of all these, to take upon them the Doctrine of the Cross, and the Worship of a Crucified *Jesus*.

And what Wonder, if in this hasty Flight from royal *Sodom* to little *Zoar*, there be some lookings back; if in this violent Change from the Extremity of Cold to extreme Heat there is some Doubtings and *Deliquiums*? which yet (it is very observable) were

were not at all indulged to by Christ or his Apostles; Heathenism it self being a Sin, together with the Rites and Appendages of it. However, they had bound it to themselves with long Custom, an early Education, and strong Persuasions; this gains them no Privilege or Toleration, no not for an Hour. All the Allowances and Indulgencies, the Forbearings and Compliances, were upon the Jewish Stock and Interest. God had deceived them, as the Prophet speaks, and they were deceived. And so the Weakness being (in some sense) His; the Weakness of his Law to which they had been obliged, they were for some time indulged by him in it; but this only till they could be instructed in the perishing Nature of those legal Ceremonies and Services; and the Abolition made plain to them from the same Authority as had before established them. And when this is once done, then at their own Peril be it if they still continue them. Their Weakness of Conscience will no longer be of Force to plead for them. St. Paul, who had before, in compliance with their Weakness, been the Author of Circumcision to Timothy, be- Act. 16. 1. comes soon after, as severe a Preacher against it. *If ye be circumcis'd, Christ shall profit you nothing.* Gal. 5. 2. And so having been a Catechist for some time to the Hebrews, and employed himself in laying down, and expounding to them the Principles of Christian Religion; at last, without considering the Growth of their Spirits, nay, considering clearly that they were not grown; That, whereas for the Time they ought Heb. 5. 12. to be Teachers, they had need to be taught again their Old Lesson; even the first Principles of Christianity. What? Does he think it necessary to comply with their Weakness? To suit himself still to their Dulness? No. Their Weakness and Dulness was utterly their own Fault: For the Time

they ought to be Teachers. Therefore leaving, Heb. 6. 1. says he, the Principles, let us go on unto Perfection, not laying again the Foundation, &c. And, as in Doctrines, thus he deals likewise in Ceremonies, or a Form of Worship. In his first Epistle to the *Corinthians* he declares how fit, and decent, and orderly it was for Men to worship God bareheaded, and Women covered. And this 1 Cor. 11. he proves by several *Mediums*, and from several Topicks. And when that is done, doth he make Provision for tender Consciences, or such as should be scandalized at it? Does he consider the several Growths of the Spirits he had to deal with in this Matter? Nothing less. He had declared plainly the Matter as it was, had said enough to satisfy fully every meek and peaceable Spirit (as the Spirit of God is questionless in all its v. 16. Growths.) And if any Man seem to be contentious, says he, (as he must needs do that will still oppose, and pretend scruple; universal Custom and Practise must silence him whom Reason cannot) *we have no such Custom, nor the Churches of God.*

From hence then it will appear; First, wherein this Weakness is allowable and to be born with; and Secondly, how long. First, not in Disobedience to any practical Law of Christ. *Let every one that nameth the Name of Christ depart from Iniquity.* The weakest and most infant Christian that names but that holy Name, and professes himself a Disciple of that Master, must frame his Actions in some Kind of Equity and Agreeableness to the Law of his Master. St. Paul, the great Indulger of his Brother's Weakness, is yet sufficiently severe against all Offenders in this Matter. No Whoremonger, nor Idolater, nor Adulterer, shall inherit the Kingdom of God. And again, says he, *Let every Soul be Subject to the higher Powers.* No Exemption of any

any Person, no Excuse upon any Pretence whatsoever. *They that resist shall receive to themselves Damnation.* And the Reason is, because these Laws being imprinted in our very Nature, and a Part of our selves, are only reduced and brought back by Christianity, and recover'd from those Blots and Stains which were cast upon them by our Sins, and the contrary Customs of a wicked Word. And therefore all Ignorance and Scruple here, gains no more Benefit of Toleration than in Heathenism it did. Whereas several *Credenda* there are, and Doctrinal Verities, which as they are not so plainly, and expressly laid down, but they must be drawn out by referring to several and distant Places of Scripture, and therefore not discernable at one View: So when they are presented to us, there are scarce any Foot-steps, or former Impressions of them on our Spirits to work their Admittance. Many of them being above Reason and the Reach of a Man's Understanding. Which therefore God is pleased to sink into us by Degrees, not to press them upon us in gross, but here a little, and there a little, as we are able to bear them. Humane Reason being the same to us as the Law was to the *Jews*. Both written by the Finger of God: Neither of them contrary, yet both much weaker and far inferior to the Doctrine of Christ. And therefore, though there might be some Time of Indulgence upon that Account, as the *Jewish Law* was allow'd of for some Years: Yet this only till the same Authority could be made known for the one as for the other: That the God of our Reason is he who does require us to an Assent to these Things above our Reason, and then our Reason becomes instantly engaged in the Work. All Excuses are taken away, and it is most unreasonable not to assent to them. He that is a *Jew* still, is not to be look'd upon as a weak Brother. And after God by

Res Dei Ratio. Tertul.

his Church has declared, and set forth these Doctrines for so long together ; we that live in the fifteenth or sixteenth Century, can be little benefited by the pleading of Ignorance. For the Time we ought to be Teachers ; and thereby the Church is fully empower'd to exact and require them of us.

And so in the Form and Manner of our Worship, Weakness will be of no Force against Custom universal. When the Decency of our Ceremonies is so plainly visible to all ; the Innocency of them so fully vindicated ; the absolute Indifferency of them in themselves so loudly profess'd and acknowledged by the Church : Whereby all Fear of Superstition (as they call it) or placing a Holiness in them is quite taken away. He that still quarrels at our Worship, does not quarrel at it, but at the Church ; shews himself contentious ; and must not, by so doing, acquit himself in the least from the Observation of it. Much less, when all these Exceptions against Doctrines and Worship, do not own their Original from Ignorance and Weakness (which might colour for an Excuse) but professedly from a greater Knowledge and stronger Estate in Christianity. For upon that Account it is that they are rejected now and laid aside, and an extraordinary Warrant and an extraordinary Spirit brought up in the Stead of them.

And as to the building and maintaining of *Babel* which you object, I shall only ask, Whether setting Men loose from all Laws and Religion, be not a fairer Groundwork for *Babel*, i. e. Confusion, than by drawing Men into a Communion, with one Mind and with one Mouth to glorifie the God of our Fathers ? The extraordinary Spirit in Christ was to gather together into one, as many as were scatter'd abroad. The extraordinary Spirit in the Time of the Apostles had no other End but this in it ; To plant a Church ; to prescribe Laws ; and to regulate

regulate Communions : and therefore was it self subject to the Laws it had prescribed. The Spirit of the Prophets is subject to the Prophets. How extraordinary then, or extravagant rather, shall we call this Spirit of yours, from the Spirit of Christ and his Apostles, whose Work it is only to dissolve, and to destroy Communions ; to set every Man by himself ; to profess a Spirit of Independency, or Unsubjection to the Spirit of the Prophets ; to cry down Laws and all prescribed Worship, not because they are bad, but because they are Laws, because they are prescribed ? And upon that one Head, *viz.* The obliging Men to some certain Measures of Doctrine and Worship, fathering (as you do) all the Ignorance and Formolity that is found in the Christian World. Whereto therefore *1 Tim. 1.3.* St. Paul in his Charge to Men that they teach no other Doctrine ; and so in his ordering the Christian Men of *Corinth* to be bareheaded in their Worship, &c. (For what is this but obliging Men to some certain Measures of Doctrine and Worship ?) must be thought in the first place, and most foully accessary.

That some Churches have indeed taken Advantage from hence to dogmatize, teaching for Doctrines the Commandments of Men, afterwards instilling them into their very Worship, will no more take away the Power of the Church, in laying this Obligation, and the necessary Good which does generally arise from it ; than in Civil Government, because some Fathers, or some Sovereign Rulers do enact unjust and inconvenient Laws ; we should presently disclaim all Sonship and Subjection, and revenge this Miscarriage of theirs upon all of the same Rank and Dominion, how guiltless and innocent soever : By declaiming against Government ; reviling of Order ; setting it up as the Mark for our *πάντων πονηρὸν πῦμα*, and even naming it Confusion. Which

Which yet both by God, and Man, it is especially and expresly designed against. Without a Corporation and embodying together in the State, we have no Security of our Lives. And without a Communion and Consent in the Church; without a confessed Obligation to some certain Measures of Doctrines and Worship; we can have no Hope that Religion will be long-liv'd among us. When this Obligation, the Staff of Bands, is once broken; The Church and Religion (which yet had lasted for some Time without the Staff of Beauty, as we may observe in the eleventh Chapter of *Zachary*) straight falls to the Ground. What other can we expect here, where the only Prop lent to sustain it, is, instead of a Staff, a Reed; the Old Testament Spirit; which *eo nomine*, as St. Paul argues against Heb. 8. 13. *that which decayeth and waxeth old, is ready to vanish away.* And none sooner than this particular Spirit wherein you instance, the Spirit of *Jael*: Which, of all Appearances in the Old Testament, puts the fairest for *Babel*; and enclines most (in the Way you urge it) to Ruin and Confusion; as being utterly destructive to all Society and Commerce; to all Manner of Agreement and Accord in Civil or Sacred Employments. For that Spirit being supposeable only, since we are so loudly declared already *Sifera's* and *Canaanites*, I demand, with what Manner of Trust can we rely upon your Promises and Invitations; upon your Acts and Articles? When we are charmed by these into Sleep and Security, the Spirit of *Jael* comes upon you, and the Nail is driven into our Temples.

And if this be enough to supersede the Old Spirit from being of Force among us; I shall need add but little to what I have already said to justify the New from ever countenancing or giving
Encourage-

Encouragement to such Actions. For you cannot but see and acknowledge, that the Spirit of Christ in the Gospel, has reveal'd to us Precepts, quite contrary to any such Practice. We have an Administration there that does wholly sentence, and condemn this Kind of Doing : A Spirit that is absolutely opposed to any such Spirit. And if we or an Angel from Heaven preach any other Doctrine (the Scripture has said it) let him be accursed. And then consider, I beseech you, that Place of St. Paul. *Let us do evil, that good may come,* Rom. 3.8. *whose Damnation is just.* And if for the abounding of God's Grace we are not to continue in Sin (which St. Paul startles at, and casts from him, you may remember, with a *μὴ γένοιτο* God forbid, when it was falsely father'd upon him and his Gospel) then certainly no New Testament Spirit, no Charity and Love to God (for that was the Supposition purely, our Love to God; and the greater Manifestation of his Grace (That Grace may abound) nothing of Selfishness or particular Interest, but as it is in you at best, for the Propagation of the Gospel, and pulling down of Antichrist. Suppose it true and real, I say) can justify you in the Commitment, or Continuance of the least Sin whatsoever; but is, give me leave to assure you, the most killing Blasphemy that can be darted against God, and the foulest *Opprobium* and Reproach that that can be spit upon the Gospel.

If it be still urged; That, though to continue in Sin were indeed damnable upon any Terms; yet that where such a Spirit or Principle leads us on to the Work, there can be no Continuance in Sin, what Ways and Steps soever we tread in for the accomplishing of it. Why then this (it must be considered) does quite enervate St. Paul's Supposition, who supposes us led by such a gracious Spirit; moved merely by our Love and Zeal to the
 Glory

Glory of God in the greater Manifestation of his
 Grace ; and yet still to continue and go on in our Sin.
 Which then, and though upon this brave Design, is
 so far from excusing or lessening our Sin, that it
 makes it indeed out of measure sinful. As where-
 by we abuse that good Spirit to patronize Villany ;
 couple together Light and Darknes ; Christ and
 Belial. And therefore the Answer in short is this.
 That 'tis not the Spirit of God that chalks out these
 Ways : But in what holy Pretensions or Sheep's-
 clothing soever it may appear unto us, which shall be
 so well counterfeited in the Spirit or Principle, *Satan*
 transforming himself into an Angel of Light, as really
 to deceive all our Senses, not at all to be discerned, or
 distinguished by us, only by the Ways it puts us upon,
 and prompts us to. By the Fruits ye shall know it.
 Which Fruits, you see, and sinful Courses, and Ways,
 would be no distinguishing Character, and Evidence
 of a false and evil Spirit, if (as you suppose) it might
 at some Time be the very Way, and Fruit of the good
 Spirit of God. And therefore, how much safer is it,
 when such Ways, and Doctrines occur to us ; when
 we meet with such kind of Practices, and such kind
 of Professors in the World, not to think our selves
 concern'd in Charity to them to blaspheme the Ho-
 ly Ghost, and to torture the Spirit of God (how
 obsolete, and out-dated soever) that it may possibly
 whisper such a Meaning ? But rather, *He that hath*
an Ear to hear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto
the Churches : Not what it whispers in private to
Isaiah ; but what it says, and speaks out unto the
 Churches. *Now the Spirit speaketh expressly,* says St.
 1 Tim. 4. 2. *Paul* (says *Isaiah* expressly, and so without
 all possible Danger of being mistaken, and
 misconstrued in it) *That in latter Times Men shall de-*
part from the Faith, giving heed to seducing Spirits, and
Doctrines of Devils. And as expressly a-
 2 Tim. 3. 4. *gain ; That in the last Days Men shall be*
lovers

lovers of themselves; Traytors, Heady, Highminded; &c. Now then, when we observe plainly Traytors, and heady, and highminded Persons; and these justifying themselves in such their Treason and Ambition, by Pretences of the Spirit, what should we need to look any farther? The Spirit has called it expressly, *A seducing Spirit; and their Doctrine, The Doctrine of Devils.*

But here you seem to come off, and are willing to abate much of the Rigour of *Jael*. That Instance of *Jael*, you acknowledge before, was the weakest Part of your Discourse, and most unfit to have stress laid on it. And sure if Conquest (as you presume to judge) were sought for by me; what should hinder me from returning with an *ἔπινξις* as soon as I set out? *Ex ore proprio; & Habes confidentem rem,* gives such a glut of Victory, as makes one truly to be more than Conqueror. But Edification carries me yet farther, even to examine in it that which you call the right Apprehension (as it is now, I suppose rectified) and the professed drift of that Instance.

SECTION IV.

All the drift of that Instance, say you, was but to shew that the People of God now (or some few of them) may possibly have the same extraordinary Warrant against this *Babel*, as those of old had against that, and against the *Canaanites* before. And truly if that were all intended by it, then *Jael*, I must needs say, was somewhat unluckily chosen. Your Agreement with her in Lying, and Treachery, being so very visible, and above Board, which is indeed the very Life of your Cause, especially to be preserved, and supported by you; and wherein only she could be pitched upon as a particular example for your Turn; different from *Joshua*, and the

the rest of *Israel*. Who as they lie more open, and obvious to your view in the Book of God: So are all, and every one of them no less proper Instances (to be sure) for the extraordinary Warrant you speak of, than *Isaiah* could ever be imagined to be. But taking it as you now set it; and so shuffling up *Isaiah* in common with the rest. It shews, say you, That the People of God now, or some few of them may possibly have the same extraordinary Warrant against this *Babel*, as those of old had against the *Canaanites*. If it shews only that they may possibly have it: Then it shews that it is more probable they have it not. The extraordinary Warrant would cease to be extraordinary, if in the like Cases it were not general, and ordinary to be otherwise. And therefore how little encouragement have we from hence to presume, or engage upon it? This is plainly confess'd in the pleading an extraordinary Warrant; that whosoever is saved in so doing, it must be meerly by a very unheard of, and extraordinary Way.

But *Secondly*, How does this extraordinary Warrant against the *Canaanites* shew, that there may now be possibly the same extraordinary Warrant against us? As if one should argue; because the World was once drowned, therefore they may possibly be a Deluge again. Shall not the Word of God lay a sufficient Bar, and Impossibility against the Deluge? And does not Christ give us a Rainbow, a sufficient Warrant against this Warrant, in that he gives us Laws, and Precepts to the contrary?

Disclaims any such extraordinary Warrant in himself. And has censured it by his holy Spirit, as the Effects meerly of Pride, and Ignorance in any that shall now pretend unto it;

But *Thirdly*, How if *Israel's* Warrant against *Canaan* was not so very extraordinary? If *Israel* had a Right to *Canaan* foregoing the Warrant; then the

War-

Warrant was not in this respect extraordinary, or creative of a Right where there was none: And therefore cannot be thought to shew any Thing in your Case. Now St. *Epiphanius*, and St. *Augustine*, both lay it down as a Tradition from their Fathers, à *patribus traditam*, & *verissimam causam*, says St. *Augustine*, that the Land of *Canaan* was given of Old by *Noah* to *Shem*, and his Posterity, accordingly possessed by them till they were driven out by the Force, and Injury of the Children of *Cham*.

Epiph. lib. 2. contra Hæres. Tom. 2. her. 86.

St. Aug. Ser. de Tem. 105.

Tom. 10.

Montac. Ap. par. pag. 10.

Which is attested likewise by *Jacobus Edeffenus*, mentioned by *Moses Bar Cepha*, as a Thing of immemorial Record (*Vetusta fama*) among the *Syrians*; That *Noah* before the Flood inhabited the Country afterwards called *Canaan*. Which after the Flood, says he, he bequeathed to his Son *Shem* for an Inheritance. And St. *Epiphanius* makes it good by this Argument. Because *Melchisedeck* (who was certainly *Shem*, or some of *Shem's* Posterity, and so the Father of *Israel*) had his Throne at *Jerusalem*, and is acknowledged King of *Salem* in the Land of *Canaan*. So that all the after Donation was no more but a Restitution: And the extraordinary Warrant God's extraordinary Encouragement, and Assurance of them against those unjust Intruders. And thus the *Canaanite* is laid at your own Doors; and the Warrant served upon your selves. But if this Plea of *Israel's* Right against *Canaan* as previous, and preceding to God's Warrant will not be granted, though founded, as you see, upon so good Reason, and such great Authority:

Yet *Fourthly*, That which makes a manifest difference between you, and *Israel*, and so takes off the Instance from being at all useful to you, plainly declaring that there cannot be that Divine Warrant in you, or any of you, to pull down our *Babel*

(as

(as you please to call the Established Government of our Church, and Kingdom) as God gave the People of *Israel* against the *Canaanites*, is this; for that you could not possibly do it having so many sacred Ties, and Obligations upon your Souls to the contrary; but by Ways and Means which the Spirit of God hates, and disavows. Whereas the *Israelites* (if they had not a former Right, yet) having no former Tie of Subjection, or Allegiance to *Canaan*; here was Room left for the Spirit of God to bestow it upon them, as having no sacred Bond: that is to say, They not being tied up before by the Spirit of God against it. Which when once they are; as particularly by their Oath to the *Gibeonites*: Though these *Gibeonites* were formerly within their Charter or Commission; and though this Oath was wrested from them by Guile (as you pretend once Kings were at the People's disposing; and these Oaths of Supremacy, and Allegiance wrested from the People by meer Encroachments) yet then they are so fast tied, as no former Donation on God's Part to them (which certainly is equal at least to your mistaken Prophecies) nor no Opportunities and Advantages they had afterwards against them (which were as great every Day, as you have against us at this Day; and which are the only ground whereon you build your Dispensation) could dispense with it. But the Violation of this Oath, taken by the Fathers in the Days of *Joshua* (so jealous, and tender is God of his Honour in the Matter of Oaths; so severe an Avenger against them that falsify his Name) is punished upon the Children of the Third, or Fourth Generation, in the Days of *David*. And therefore, however you might pretend perhaps an extraordinary Warrant dormant from God against *Spain*; and in your present Expedition to the *Indies*; if the ill Success has not already cancelled it: Yet, (blessed be God) there cannot

not be here so much as a Pretence ; in that you are already tied up by God against it : That is to say, under the Seal and Oath of God. *I Eccles. 8.2. counsel thee to keep the King's Commandment, and that in regard of the Oath of God.* And whatever Inconveniencies and Disadvantages you groan'd under in the former Government, you were to wait with Patience upon God for a Redress. Who, as he had brought you into these Bonds and under this Government without your Sin ; so could, no doubt, without your Sin (for he had no need of a wicked Man) and would (if it had seemed good in his Sight) have released you from it by turning the Heart of the King (whose Heart, particularly for this Reason it is said, is in the Hand of the Lord) or else by cutting off the King, and so the Royal Line, by any of his Arrows ; as Pestilence immediately by his own Hand ; or War from abroad instrumentally by the Hand of others ; or what other Way might seem best to his Divine Wisdom. Only you, of all others, could not be lawfully the Authors or Instruments of his Change. God does no where side with Perjury ; nor has given any Man Licence to sin, or Commission to do wickedly : But is a swift Witness against the false Swearer ; and most sadly and severely reckons for it in his own People, as whereby his Name is blasphemed ; and his Truth and Gospel evil spoken of and rejected among the Heathen.

And from hence it is, that *Nebuchadnezzar* coming up the first Time against *Jerusalem* ; the King of *Judah* and his People were no where reprov'd by God or his Prophets, for resisting and standing out against him ; but surely did their Duty in it ; though God was not pleas'd to bless their Endeavours ; but for their former Sins and Provocations deliver'd them into his Hand. But when *Zedekiah*, after an Oath taken to *Nebuchadnezzar*, finds an

Opportunity to cast off the Yoke, and rebelled against him, *he rebelled against Nebuchadnezzar*, it is said, *who had made him swear by*

2 Chron.
35. 13.

God. Then Nebuchadnezzar coming up a second Time against Jerusalem, God, by the Prophet Jeremiah, warns both Zedekiah, and the People not to strike a Stroke, or think of holding out the City against him. Which Zedekiah still refusing, is accordingly punished with a sore Destruction; whereof God himself is pleased to give this Account. *He rebel-*

led against him (viz. Zedekiah against Nebuchadnezzar) *in sending his Ambassadors*

Ezek. 17.
15.

into Egypt that they might give him Horses and much People. Shall he prosper? Shall he escape that does such Things? Or shall he break the Covenant and be delivered? Where you may observe, not his wicked Design; not his ambitious or Self-ends are condemned in breaking of it (for his End was possibly pious and good; might colour, I am sure, for far more Justice and Religion than can be pretended in your Case) but his very Breach of the Covenant, his falsifying his Oath, is that which is there urged against him; as that which, let his End be what it will, can never be authoriz'd or countenanc'd by the good Spirit; can never be capable of God's Blessing upon it. For that is the Force or Meaning of the Words put interrogatively or by way of Question, to put it out of Question. Shall he escape that does such Things? (*Talia not Taliter*) Shall he break the Covenant and be deliver'd? *i. e.* it is utterly impossible: Neither he, nor any other shall ever receive a Blessing from God upon such Practices, and therefore sure can never be authorized by God to do them.

Heb. 6. 16. An Oath being both in God and Men for Confirmation, and an End of all Strife, *πῶς ἀνελρογίας πέρας*, that there might not be Room left for a Word more to be said against it (And there-

therefore God, though he sometimes alters his Word or Promise, as having always a tacit Condition imply'd, 1 *Sam.* 2. 30. yet never his Oath, *Heb.* 6. 17. *Psal.* 89. 34.) And pray consider, how far short it would fall of this End if there were Place left for this Pretension of God's Spirit against it. Which if it be true at any Time, might be so always; or at least always might be so pretended, whereby Strife would become undeterminable, and there would be no End at all of Contention. But whenever I plead this Breach of Oath, how evident and apparent soever, against any Man; or whenever the Magistrate proceeds to punish it, in the falsest and most perjured Person, we must both run this Hazard of fighting against God. Which, as it blunts and turns the Edge of God's Sword in the Hand of the Magistrate by this inextricable Uncertainty and Discouragement, cannot therefore proceed from that God who has put the Sword into his Hand to execute Wrath against them that do evil. And as it opens a Gap to all Falseness and Confusion, by taking away the antient Landmark, as it were, and Boundaries of Peace; that only which puts an End to all Strife and Contention can have no Title or Pretence to that Spirit of God, who is not the Author of Confusion, but of Peace, as in all 1 Cor. 14.
33. Parts and Places of the World; so especially among Christians (and therefore no Cause of Christ, no fulfilling of his Prophecies, no pulling down of *Babel*, can warrant us to it) in all the Churches of the Saints.

“ Sir, I have been the longer in this, that I
 “ may be the shorter in the rest, and cut off all
 “ farther Pretensions to a Commission in any of
 “ you for the present Change, by proving you all
 “ incapable of it: That *De Jure* you cannot
 “ have it; and therefore *De Facto* have it not.

“ Though, supposing you capable, and so in po-
 “ tentia for it, your Arguments fall infinitely short
 “ of proving that actually you have any.

SECTION V.

For *First*, In order to your Proof you suppose, That *Babel* is to be destroyed in a warlike Way by the People of God; and this, say you, plainly enough. Truly, that *De futuro* it is to be so destroyed, I conceive, is not over plain. For that Men of singular Learning and Piety, and not brib'd by any particular Interest, have, upon diligent Search and Enquiry, otherwise concluded of it, *viz. Hugo Grotius, Dr. Hammond, and others.* Who have all proved, and that perhaps plainly enough too, that that Prophecy is already fulfilled in the Destruction of *Jerusalem* and *Rome* Heathen. But to give you Scope here likewise, and grant that *Babel* remains yet to be destroyed: What Passages are those in the Revelation which give you so plainly the Length of the Weapon too? And from whence you conclude it must be in a warlike Way? Sir, It is a Saying in Philosophy, *Unumquodq; nutritur iisdem principiis ex quibus fit*; Every thing is to be propagated and preserved by the same Principles by which it was planted. Now, This warlike Way you mention was never chosen by our Lord, we know, for the bringing Christianity into the World. And why then for the spreading and growth of it? And being expressly and professedly disclaimed in the Beginning, how comes it now to be so pious and necessary in the Conclusion? *The*
 2 Cor. 10. 4. *weapons of our warfare, says St. Paul, are not carnal but mighty, through God, to the pulling down of strong Holds, &c.* And so speaking of this very *Babel*, this Mass, and Man of Sin to be
 2 Thes. 2. 8. destroyed. *Whom the Lord shall consume,*
 says

says he, (not with Sword or Spear, but) *with the spirit of his mouth, and shall destroy with the brightness of his coming, i. e.* by the powerful Evidence and Illustration of his Holy Spirit in the Gospel.

The *Babel* to be destroyed is a spiritual Kingdom ; not the Persons of wicked Men, but their Lusts and spiritual Fornications ; the Heathenism and Idolatry of *Rome*, and not the Empire or Emperors of it. The evil Principles, say you, both in relation to Spirituals and Civils, which ruled most eminently in it. Which being spiritual, is therefore shotfree ; falls not under the Reach or Power of a material Sword to be wounded by it. And therefore when we read some Expressions in the Revelation sounding generally this Way ; as of warring, and killing, and the like, we must remember that this Book is a Prophecy ; and so written in a prophetic Style : Wherein Christ's Victory over the Hearts and Spirits of Men, is ordinarily described in those military Terms ; and as making use of such Engines and Instruments, as Kings and Captains. are wont to do in the Management of their Wars.

But to retrench all this too ; and supposing it plainly and downright in a warlike Way ; yet why must this be done by the People of God ? (For so are the People, I presume, you mean in Opposition to Princes and Governors ; else it serves not at all to your Purpose) When as yet the ten Horns in the 17th Chapter of the *Revelation*, and 16th Verse, who are manifestly said to be ten Kings in the 12th Verse of that Chapter, *are those that shall hate the Whore, and make her desolate and naked, &c.* And surely, Sir, I dare be positive in this, whatever should become of the rest, That no Prophecy or Prediction in the whole Bible can secure Subjects and private Persons, much less oblige them to such a War.

And herein 'twill be worth your while to consider *David's* Case ; and observe the Judgment he makes upon it. God had foretold and promised, that the Kingdom of *Israel*, *Saul* being now rejected, should be established upon *David*. To which he was therefore actually anointed by *Samuel*. Which

1 Sam. 24. highly exasperating the Rage and Madness of *Saul* against him, after many private Attempts in vain and without Success, he causelessly pursues poor innocent *David* ; and musters up all the Trainbands and Militia of his Kingdom to destroy him. But *David* still shifting and flying for his Life, takes Sanctuary at last in the Sides of a Cave : Whither *Saul*, being in his March after him, by Chance turns aside from his Army, for the Ease of Nature, and so falls singly and unawares into *David's* Hands. But *David* and his Men being all this while unseen or unperceived by him, were in Consultation what they had now to do. *David* was designed by God, and anointed to the Kingdom ; most unjustly persecuted and hunted, as a Partridge upon the Mountains, by this very *Saul*, who is now in his Hands. So far from a Crown, which yet God had promised him, that as long as *Saul* lived and at Liberty, he could not but be every Day in eminent Peril of Death : To which he might hereafter be thought necessary himself ; as likewise of the frustrating God's Promise to him concerning the Kingdom, if he should let slip this present Advantage ; and, regardless of this signal Providence of God, in bringing *Saul* so strangely and unexpectedly into his Hands, should suffer him to escape. And to this Purpose his Officers mind him, how this wonderful Piece of Providence was exactly in Answer to a former Prophecy : Wherein God had promised to bring *David's* Enemy into his Hand, that he might do to him what seemed good unto him. But all these Arguments how fair and demon-

demonstrative soever they might seem to others, *David* easily discerns to be fallacious. God's anointing him to the Crown did not dispense with him from Obedience to his Commands ; or privilege him therefore to be his own Carver. He that spake it had Ways enough of bringing it about ; though *David* continued still in his Integrity. He shall one Day descend into the Battle, says *David*, and perish. Wickedness proceedeth from the wicked, but my Hand shall not be upon him. Though *Saul* be injurious towards him, and forget his Duty as a King in persecuting, and pursuing the Blood of an innocent Subject, whom he ought rather to protect and defend : Yet, this will give *David* no Advantage of renouncing his Allegiance, or rising up against the Life of his Sovereign. And therefore the Prophecy (if *Saul* be the Enemy intended in it) is yet no Command ; nor carries any the least Shadow of Allowance or Dispensation with it, to do what is evil in God's Eyes. Whereby it will be apparent that this great Providence of God in fulfilling and completion of this Prophecy, and bringing *Saul* into his Hands, was but for a greater Trial, which God was pleased to make, of his Faith and Loyalty ; to tempt and prove him (as he did *Abraham* before) whether he would make use of any indirect Course for the bringing about pious and religious Ends. Or whether, as he had received the Promise of the Kingdom from God's mere Favour to him, he could now rely and rest himself wholly upon his Power and Wisdom, even against all the seeming Difficulties and Impossibilities of Flesh and Blood, for the enstating it upon him. Wherein he so piously acquits himself, as notwithstanding the Prophecy they mention to him, and this Providence before his Eyes, together with that carnal Prudence, which was questionless suggested to him ; he lets *Saul* escape. Not only refuses to

be his Judge, not only absents himself from the Sentence and Execution ; but urges, and pleads, and persuades with his Men not to meddle with him. *Who can stretch forth his Hand against the Lord's anointed and be guiltless ?* Thus subduing the

Kingdom, and obtaining the Promise by Heb. 11.33.

Faith (as it is witnessed of him) while he seems to undo all ; to frustrate the Promise, and forfeit his Claim to the Kingdom for God's Sake, or rather, than be guilty of the Sin in the procuring of it.

And now let us look back a while ; and put your Case in the same Balance with *David's* ; and see if you fall not so much short of him in the Premises, as you have wickedly out-dar'd and out-done him in the Conclusion. *David* was elected by God, and actually anointed by his holy Prophet to the Kingdom. You were tied up under the Oath of God against it : So far from any lawful Possibility of taking the Kingdom to your selves, as you were obliged with Life and Limb to prevent the Designs and Conspiracies of any other ; and to secure it to the King and his Heirs after him for ever. *David* was an innocent injur'd Person ; one that by *Saul's* Appointment had done most eminent, and almost miraculous Service against his Enemies ; beside many personal and particular Obligations to *Saul* himself. In Reward whereof, he is now bloodily pursued by *Saul* and all the Power of *Israel*, to take away his Life. Whereas you, after many Concessions and Acts of Grace from the King, drive him away from his own House with Tumults and popular Violence ; pursue him immediately with an Army ; imbitter the Minds and Mouths of the People with all the foulest and falsest Reproaches that could be spit against him ; rob him of his whole Revenue ; turn the deaf Ear to all his Desires of Returning ; and maliciously pervert and frustrate

frustrate his renewed Messages and Petitions (as I may so term them) for Peace and Accommodation. And then lastly for the Providence, that signal Providence of God in bringing the King into your Hands; which must be thought to supersede all this; and not only so, take away the Poison and Malignity of this *Coloquintida*, like stirring the Water with the Unicorn's horn; but baptize all these your traiterous and disloyal Actions, into just, and necessary, and religious. Nay, urge and engage you farther, First to imprison, and then to murder your Sovereign (For so the following of Providence is made the only *via recta*; and where-with you as easily silence and swallow up all Arguments and Objections brought against you; as *Moses's* Serpent did the Serpents of the Magicians.) This Case of Providence, I say, of all other, runs widest from the Parallel; and wherein God did as plainly discriminate himself to you and *David*, as *David* and you have differenc'd and discriminated your selves from each other in the contrary Use and Application of it. For whereas *Saul* indeed was brought by God's Providence, according to his former Promise, into *David's* Hands, while he had never the least Aim or Design at any such Thing; but always declined it, and was now in his Flight, lurking here in this Cave merely for Fear, and thereby to avoid him who was furiously now upon his March after him. What was there of this, I beseech you, in your Case? Nay, say, if all Things were not quite contrary. For beside your no Promise or Prophecy for it, how many Precepts and Penalties are urged by God against it? Beside your not declining to get the King into your Power as *David* did, how many wicked Arts and Stratagems are put in practise to bring it about? And whereas you might have thought it something of Providence, it may be, to have
kill'd

kill'd the King at random, or to have taken him Prisoner in the Field, in any one of those great Successes you had upon his Party (though 'tis sure, Where God is shut out of the Cause and Quarrel, as in that of Subjects against their Sovereign, there can be no Pretence at all of his Providence in whatever he suffers to be brought about) yet it is very observeable, and wherein it would well become you to take Notice of God's Providence ; That besides those Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance, renewed by you at your Entrance into the Parliament, or before you could sit there in any Capacity to consult and carry on the War against him : How did God provide for the King's Safety ; when you your selves, even of your selves, without the King, did engage your selves and the whole Kingdom ; First, by a Protestation : And Secondly, your selves, and your whole Party, even without and against the King's Consent, by a solemn Vow and Covenant, never to be forgotten, to defend and preserve his Person and Honour ? And when all this could not get him into your Hands, how did God provide for the King again ? when all his Party being slain generally, and fallen into your Hands, He yet carries him into the *Scots* Army ; where you could not compass him at last but by fresh Engagements of Safety and Honour to his Person ? Nor is he yet in your Hands ; your Hands, I mean, of the Army, who pretended at last to have Power over him (of which no other Account can be given, I think, than that of Providence) till by new Treasons and Rebellions you had plainly acknowledged the Depth and Desperateness of your former Villany. And by rising up against your own Masters, and violently snatching the King from them once at *Holmeby*, and again at the *Isle of Wight* (by whose Authority and Commission only you were put into Arms against him ;

him; and whereby you did seem and seek to excuse your selves from the Crime of Rebellion in so doing) you did thereby manifestly accuse and condemn your selves for it. So that nothing hardly, I may say, was ever permitted by God, that was more fully and sufficiently provided against by him. Who in farther Care of the King's Safety and Preservation (besides the many several and plain Laws both Humane and Divine, and your own voluntary wilful Oaths to this Purpose) yet, lest he should fall into your Hands, the barbarous bloody Hands of the Army, God did dam up the Way against it, by a Complication of Treasons mutually accusing and bearing Witness against each other (whereby the King was yet as safe from falling into your Hands, as it was certain you would not condemn your selves) For thus your first rising up against the King, under the Authority of the Two Houses, must plainly condemn your Disobedience and Insurrection afterwards against them. And your rising up against the Two Houses afterwards, leaves your former Rebellion against the King without Excuse. And if this must be still called Providence, 'twill certainly be in this; That, in your seizing at last upon the King, God has brought you to condemn your selves, and wash off with your Hands that *Fucus* and Paint of a supreme Authority in the Houses, wherewith you did formerly colour your Rebellion against the King, and shelter it from being seen and discovered by the People.

But then this Kind of Providence sure will be far enough from engaging you to that horrid Perpetration which pretends to derive from it. And if *David* (who, had he dispatched *Saul* out of the Way, had been instantly rightful King, as being the next undoubted Heir) could yet find no such Construction to be made possibly of that eminent Providence,

Providence, wherein it pleased God to appear to him ; I can never sufficiently wonder at the Quick-sightedness of these Men, who from a Permission only, to which they have waded in Blood, and wrested from God by desperate impenitent Provocations) of getting the King into their Hands, should spy out, at this vast Distance, an evident Call to Power and Sovereignty in themselves by taking away his Life ; and thereby an Obligation upon them for so doing. *David*, who had a Right to the Crown, dares not yet possess himself of it by this Act ; which these Men look upon as so meritorious, that the very committing of this Act must be rewarded upon them by God with Crowns and Scepters, and Kingdoms ; and create them a Right out of their former Nothing. Whereas no Robbery or Murther upon the High-way, but has a much better Title to Providence. And I should hugely condemn the *Laodicean* Temper of that Soldier, who after this should be so cold a Christian as not to follow Providence in cutting the Throat of every one that falls into his Hands. Good Sir, Deut. 29. 29. *Secret Things belong unto the Lord : but those that are revealed, unto us and to our Children for ever.* And whatever God pleases to permit for our Tryals, we have yet a sure Word of Prophecy to guide us in our Practice. *Whereto we should do well to take heed*, says the Apostle, *as unto a light shining in a dark Place.* And whereby *David*, you see, in the Darkness and Opportunity of the Cave, was yet directed not to quench the Light of *Israel* ; or stretch forth his Hand against the Lord's Anointed.

But this whole Instance of *David*, though extended to so great a Length, will easily be voided by you, I perceive. While granting a Difference indeed between your selves and *David* ; and so in the Ways of God's Providence towards you, and him,

him, which I so much urge, and so clearly demonstrate: There is yet a third Difference you will reply, which I have said nothing of; and wherein the Advantage lies on your Side to so great a Degree as will fetch up the other Scale, and make all even. And how contrary soever your Actions were, his in saving, and yours in destroying: Yet the vast Difference of the subject Matter whereon you wrote, will easily reconcile them, and allow them both to be religious. For to destroy a Tyrant may be an equal Act of Piety, as to Honour, and preserve a just King. To pull down *Babylon* is as acceptable a Service to God, as to uphold the building of *Jerusalem*.

Tyrannus a Tyrant, we must know therefore, does originally signifie a King, the same with *Rex*, or one in Sovereign Power, without particularly specifying whether good or bad; till Use, the great Arbitrator of Words, and Master of Language, had appropriated it only to bad Kings, whom we call Tyrants. Yet with this Latitude, as comprehending under it *Tyrannos titulo*, those who are tyrannical and unjust in the very obtaining of the Sovereignty, as Invaders and Usurpers: Secondly, *Tyrannos exercitio*, Those who though good and rightful Possessors, are yet tyrannical and exorbitant in the Use of it. And to this first Part in the Distinction, viz. * As it is taken for those who violently and injuriously usurp a Sovereignty: It holds for true and orthodox, That to destroy such, may be an Act of equal Piety, as to honour and preserve a just King. And the Reason is;

* *Lex erat Qui Tyrannum occiderit Olympionicarum præmium capito: & quam volet sibi rem à Magistratu deposcito & Magistratus ei concedito. Pet. Ævod. 6. 9. 1. Multa etiam exempla enumerat Tyrannicidarum, qui præmiis & honoribus afficiebantur. pag. 695.*

because

Quare De Con-
cil. Constanti-
ensi. Sess. 15.

because indeed it is the same. *Una, eademq; manus vulnus, opemq; tulit.* And while I destroy the Usurper, I do plainly in the same Act save and defend the true King, whose Right it is. But then Tyrant in the second Part of the Distinction, and as it signifies (without impeaching their Right or Title to the Crown) such Sovereign Rulers as oppress the People that are under them; there is yet a *Noli me tangere* upon them to every particular Person, though highly injured by them, and favoured by God as *David*. And a *Nolite tangere Christos meos* to what Conjunctions and Combinations of Men soever. Their Persons are sacred and inviolable, typified by the Holy Oil wherewith the Kings of *Israel* were consecrated and appropriated to God; and thereby exempted from the common Lot, in that they were the Lord's Anointed. *Who can stretch forth his Hand?* &c. And though wicked and unjust they be; though froward and ungente, we are yet to be subject to them, says *St. Peter*. And while they come in at the Door by a fair and lawful Claim, and not climb in at the Windows by Violence and forcible Usurpation; (which is perfectly the Character of Thieves and Robbers, though they should by this Means gain the Possession) while they sit in *Moses's* Seat by lawful Succession and Descent from him, we are still to obey and attend upon them, though they bind heavy Burthens upon our Shoulders (as our Saviour tells us of those *Scribes* and *Pharisees*) and grievous to be born. Where, by the way, if you please to take but this one Note along with you, 'twill give some Dispatch to the whole Difference between us. That 'tis not the personal Wickedness; nor yet the cruel and severe Impositions of our lawful Governors, that can give us the Liberty therefore to refuse and reject them; though they be

be as great Opposers of Christ, and as great Oppressors of the People as the *Scribes* and *Pharisees*. *They sit in Moses's seat, therefore whatsoever they say unto you, that observe and do.* So, Mat. 23. nor secondly does the bare Possession of *Moses's* Seat, or rather the Throne and Scepter of *David*, the Sheep-fold and Sheep-hook, if they have forced their Entrance into it by unlawful and prohibited Ways, give a Right to any, of reigning over us, or make them the true Shepherds, but they are *eo Nomine*, Thieves and Robbers. *Verily,* Joh. 10. *verily I say unto you, He that entereth not by the Door into the Sheepfold, but climbeth up some other Way; the same is a Thief and a Robber: And so to be looked upon for ever by the Sheep; who owe them therefore neither Audience nor Obedience, neither to hear nor follow them.*

I need not be told that these two Instances of our Saviour's, concerning sitting in *Moses's* Seat, and entring by the Door into the Sheep-fold, are apply'd by him to the Pastors and Fathers of the Church; and not to the Civil Magistrate or Father of the Country. And truly I could wish, heartily Chrysoft. in loco cit. per Montac. pag. 258. wish, that they might be allowed to hold there. For then we should not have taken Liberty from the personal Failings, and pretended doctrinal Errors (which were much more visible and notorious in the *Scribes* and *Pharisees*) of our former authorized Teachers, the Bishops and Clergy of this Land, who sit as demonstrably in the Throne of the Apostles, and by due Ordination successively from them; as the *Scribes* and *Pharisees* of Christ's Time in *Moses's* Seat, to renounce them and cast them off. So nor secondly should we be so far infatuated as to hearken after these our upstart Teachers, and intruding Rabbies, who having no lawful Call or Entrance into the pastoral Charge

Charge which they possess, not coming in by the Door; plainly discover themselves for Thieves and Robbers. But notwithstanding the Occasion of our Saviour's Words in this Place was indeed proper and particular, (as no wise Man speaks at random) yet the Design and Force of them is general; manifestly reaching at all Authority to be submitted to, if lawfully descending, though upon wicked and unjust Rulers sitting in *Moses's* Seat. So on the other side to be opposed and rejected; not to be lookt upon as the Authority of Rulers; but as the Force and Outrage of Robbers when usurp'd by violent and unlawful Ways.

Thus while *David* bears still an awful Reverence and Respect to *Saul*, bloody and tyrannical *Saul*, even after *Saul's* Disobedience against God, and God's repenting that he had made *Saul* King; after God's good Spirit had forsaken him, and he was now possessed and actuated by an evil Spirit (which might have made up at least as great a Noise and Accusation as evil Councillors did amongst us): Nay, after he had so far hearkned and was led by it, as to make several Attempts against *David's* Life; and actually to destroy, without any Process at all, a whole City of God's Priests in the highest Degree of Rage and Inhumanity that has been heard of. For so it must be observ'd that *David's* Tenderness and Respect to *Saul* in the Cave, was after he had been guilty of all this. As this, I say, gives a full Proof of Reverence and Obedience to Sovereign Power, if lawfully seated, though in a cruel and unjust Person sitting in *Moses's* Seat: So on the other side we have as clear
 2 Chron. 23. a Proof in the History of *Athaliah*, how little Right goes along with Possession; what Obedience is due to the Commands, or Respect to the Persons of such Usurpers. For that *Athaliah* having by Murther of the Seed Royal made
 made

made her Way unto the Throne, and continued her Possession six Years (longer than our new Master can yet pretend to) is, at length, without any Scruple at all, dethroned and dispossessed, and executed by good *Jehoiada* the High Priest, in the Right of young *Joash*, who alone had escaped the Ax of all the King's Sons; and appears now to make his Claim and Challenge of the Crown. Thus bloody *Saul*, yet sitting in *Moses's* Seat and lawful Sovereignty, is honoured and rever'd by the holy Prophet *David*. And *Athaliah*, though possessed of the same Seat and Sovereignty, yet, because in another's Wrong, because her Entrance into it was not by the Door or lawful Way, but she had climbed into it by Treason, and Rebellion, and Blood, is therefore despised and destroyed by the High Priest *Jehoiada*.

I forbear purposely the many Advantages laid before me in the Copy or Counter-part of this Story: How *Athaliah's* Right, as Queen-Mother, might better colour for Sovereignty, than if she had been, as ours, of the lowest and meanest of the People. And sure the Lustre and Excellency of our late King, needs not the Foil of a bloody *Saul* to set him off. But because your Exceptions lie not at all against the King (who was wont to bear the Load and Envy of your former Declarations) but against the Kingdom it self; that very Form and Constitution of Government whereby he was King and we Subjects, terming it *Babel*, and so to be destroyed. Thither likewise I direct my Discourse. And easily freeing our Government, I doubt not but to discover the *Babel* you speak of, in your own Building; and bury all your Objections in the Ruins and Rubbish of it.

SECTION N. VI.

For First, The *Medium* whereby you would prove us *Babylon*, viz. From that implicit Obedience we profess and acknowledge to the King, does immediately reach at God himself ; make him a *Babylonian* too ; both as the Author of Government in general, and of this particular Way of Government set up and established in our Land. For every Government that is truly so, does necessarily suppose an Irresistibility somewere, either in one or more Persons, to make it a Government, and distinguish it from Confusion. Which is all we mean, I am sure, or that you would impose upon us, I think, by implicit Faith, viz. either actively to obey his Majesty's just and legal Commands ; or, when they prove illegal and unjust, patiently to bear the Penalty annexed, rather than resist, and rise up against him. And that this is necessary to all Governments, and fit and prudent that we should be thus governed, I will now demonstrate.

For Government being the orderly framing and squaring of many single and divided Persons into one Body : there must necessarily be, in every Government, some common Point of Unity, wherein they must all concenter and meet, and become One. Some last Appeal and Determination, to which they must all submit, and from whence the Government takes its Name and Denomination, either of Popular, or Democratical, if the last Appeal be to the People : Of Aristocratical, if to a Council of State : Of Regal or Monarchical, if to One Person. And the supposing a Liberty left us to reject and resist against any such Determination, when it is, or is apprehended by us, unjust or inconvenient (this being the very End and
Essence

Essence of Governors, as the Apostle expresses it, *That we may lead peaceable and quiet Lives.* Who must therefore necessarily have *Jus gladii*, the Power of the Sword, whereby to furnish them for this End. They, and none but They, and so are irresistible) does plainly mutilate and null the Government; dissolve the Body; and leave us, as we were, single and divided Persons. *Non jam ades, sed cumulus erit.* We may be a Heap indeed, but not a House, not a Building, not a Body. For no Body* can be legally and naturally at Variance with it self. This being that which distinguishes one Body, and so one Government from another: *England* from *Spain*, *Spain* from *France*, &c. And to say, That in every Government the People are still the ultimate Judges and Arbitrators, is to say One of these Two: Either that there is no other Government but Popular; or that Order and Government is the very same Thing with Ataxy and Confusion. For as in a Popular State it were perfectly unlawful, and the Mother of Confusion, to follow one Prince or ringleader, or some few of the Nobles in Opposition to the major Part of the People: So it is the same Thing in a Monarchy or Kingdom (to be sure) upon the People's Account, more or less, to rise up and rebel against the King.

'Tis true, that in either State I am not to obey an unjust Command. Herein I am already prepossessed and prevented by God. But this is no infringing on the Sovereignty of our Rulers, which must only be acknowledged under God. And while I refuse to execute or actually obey them in Sin, I still preserve my Fidelity to God, and disavow my self the Servant of Men. And yet by submitting to the Penalty, I preserve the End and Design of Government, *viz.* peaceable, and quiet Living; and set the Governors upon their proper

Thrones *Solo de minores*. All which is overthrown by Resistance. The Governors displaced by setting my self above them ; or at least in an Independency and Equality with them ; which is necessarily supposed in Resistance, Government cashier'd, and render'd ineffectual.

And as the *Jews*, when in Opposition to Christ, they were very zealous for the Honour of their Master *Moses*, and their own Freedom, for that they were free-born (never were in Bondage, say they, to any Man) did therein especially dishonour *Moses*, and enslave themselves. So we make our selves purely the Slaves and Servants of Men, by engaging with them in an unlawful Resistance, though in Pretence of our Liberty. And never more highly deny and dishonour Christ, than when in this Kind of Way we pretend most to his Honour and Service ; by despising that Government and these Governors whom God the Father (as I may say) has sanctified and sent into the World. For so Government and Magistracy were absolutely erected by God in the first Creation, giving the Sovereignty to Mankind over the rest of his Workmanship. And again, in the Distinction and Differencing of Sexes, Man had the Sovereignty over the Woman determin'd upon him by his Primogeniture, or being first formed, as the 1 Tim. 2. 13. *Apostle argues. For Adam was first formed, then Eve* : and so manifestly before the Fall, and no mishapen Piece of corrupt Nature. And again, in the Production and Procreation of Children, the Parents had a Sovereignty and Dominion over those that were begotten by them. Which, how limited and confined soever it were, (for that it seems all this while not to reach unto Life : The Power of Life and Death being reserved in God's Hand, and as his Peculiar) was yet, certainly, in every Species of it, sacred

sacred and irresistible to those that were under it.

And now when after the Flood, which came upon the old World for their Sins, and because there was no Magistrate effectually to curb them and cut them off (Admonitions and Stripes, the Family-Discipline, being much too gentle to restrain their Violence) it pleased God, in Prevention of the like for the Time to come, as he assured by a Rainbow, to enlarge the Commission even over the Life; and to the Shedding the Blood of a capital Offender. *Whosoever sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed.* Yet this was still *Salvo* Gen. 9. 6. *regimine* without any Power lawfully in the People either to rise up against him, when he did so; or to sit in Judgment against him when he neglected to do so; and from a Judge should debase himself into a Malefactor. This appears evidently by the Words and Tenor of his Commission. For as the Magistrate's Power over Life and Death is acknowledged by all in these Words; so his Impunity likewise, as to the People (though he should be *Socius criminis*, and guilty of the same Crime) will easily be deriv'd from the same Fountain. And, as the Apostle argues, that when the Scripture says, in these Words, *All things are put under Christ, it is manifest that he is ex-* 1 Cor. 15. 27 *cepted who did put all things under him.* So there is the same Reason and *Manifesto* likewise, that in these Words, *Whosoever sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed*; the Avenger of Blood, the Man that is to shed the Blood of the Blood-shedder, should absolutely be exempted from it. Who else must be supposed to be under those whom in that very Term or Title he is apparently set over. The avenging of their Blood being the plain Ensign of his Sovereignty over them. As the Father in being said to put all Things un-

der the Son, does therein appear to be above him. And therefore how universally affirmative soever the Propositions may seem to be, *All things are put under Christ*; and, *Whosoever sheddeth man's blood*, &c. Yet are both to be restrained to their proper Subjects: And such a Truce to be held with the Terms and Parts of the Proposition *All*, and *Whosoever*, as not to contradict and make War against the Tenor and Design of the Whole. Which being once secured and saved harmless, we cannot stretch them beyond their Measure. But All Things, absolutely All Things, are to be put under Christ, save the Father. And whosoever sheddeth Man's Blood, whether Person or People, save the Avenger of Blood himself, here is ample Authority to cut them off.

And if this may serve for Government in the General; and to evince an Irresistibility necessarily flowing from the Nature and Being of it (the Supreme Power in every Oeconomy whatsoever, in that it is the Supreme Power, being not possibly liable to the Inferior, or such as derive from it) we will see next what malignant Influence there is in Monarchy; or where this Supreme Power is in one Man, as with us by Law is established, that should quite overthrow the Good of Government; and pervert it (as you complain) into the Uneasiness and Unsupportableness of a *Babylonian* Bondage. And truly, if God might be allowed any Share or Proportion of Wisdom but equal to the Conceits which we have of our own Understandings, we should not thus hastily assume against that Form which he was pleased to erect among his own People. Monarchy, even without that contradictory Term of Mixt-monarchy adjoyn'd to it, being next to Theocracy (God's own immediate Rule) the constant standing Way deputed
Deut. 17. by him for *Israel*. As appears plainly by
Moses,

Moses, who from the Mouth of God, before the People in likelihood thought of any such Thing, though always forbidding them a Conformity with the Nations in Sin; and generally for their greater Separation, even in their innocent and harmless Customs: Yet in the Way of Government, says he, if when ye be settled and gather'd into a Body, and grow weary to be govern'd, as at this Day; and make Choice rather of that Usage among the Nations (*Inter omnes per circuitum nationes*, among all the Nations round about thee) to be ruled by a King: What then? Doth he presently declaim against it, as *Babylonian* and Antichristian? Or does he name any better Form to intervene? And supposing them to dislike Theocracy as too far removed out of their Sight, yet propound them some clearer Image and Representation of it, than Monarchy? (as * Divorce was found out to prevent Murther) No: But sets himself only to Directions, That they should follow God's Choice in the Election of the Person: And the Person so chosen should follow God's Rule in the Discharge of his Function.

And therefore that God is afterwards offended with them in asking a King; 'tis only that they did this in distrust and dislike of his own immediate Rule among them. Ye said, *Nay, but a King shall reign over us, when the Lord your God was your King.* Which ^{1 Sam 12. 12.} otherwise, and being laid together in a Scale with Πάσα κλίσις ἀνθρώπων, of all humane Ordinances and Modes of Government by Men, is apparently the best. And which God therefore sums up by the Prophet *Ezekiel*, as the Crown of Beauty and Per-

* Μειζόνων δ' ἐκκόπλων κακῶν τὸ μὴ κωλυμένους ἐμβαλεῖν, ἀναγκάζεσθαι σφάτιεν ἐνδον ἔσας καὶ μισουμένας τὸ ἐλαττον σμμεχώρησεν. St. Chrysost. in Isa. Κεφ. α. 13.

fection, which he had put upon the Head of *Israel*.
 Ezek. 16. *I put a beautiful Crown upon thy head, and*
 13, 14. *thou didst prosper into a Kingdom.* A Kingdom or Monarchy, and that of God's putting on too, was the Excellency and Perfection of that People, honoured and commended by him, not only by those mighty Worthies whom he raised up to that kingly Office and Calling among them, as *David, Solomon, Hezekiah, Josiah*, and the rest; who were certainly none of them *Babylonians* and Antichrists *virtute Officii*: But also in making Choice among our Tribes and Families in *Israel*, that Christ should be born of the Tribe of *Judah* and the House of *David*, the Tribe and Blood Royal, to whom the Kingship did peculiarly belong.

And that this was absolute Monarchy; or that these Kings were sacred and inviolable in their Persons (which is all you can charge upon us by the No Power you speak of to bound and limit our King against his Will) does appear at large in the sacred Story. This being the Manner of the King desired by *Israel, qualem habebant vicini*, who were all under a *Παμβασιλεία*, or absolute Monarchy, as is observed by the learned *Grotius*.
 1 Sam. 8. And so likewise when *Samuel* describes *Jus Regis*, the Right and Manner of their King, in Conformity to those Nations round about: He leaves the People no possible Weapon against him, but Prayers and Tears.

Thus then the Vizzor being taken off; and no such Antichrist, as you would fright us with, appearing under this Form of Monarchical Government, or the King's unlimited Power, as you call it, in Civils: We will next take a View of that implicit Faith in Spirituals; the evil Principle, as you say, of our Church Government, whereby we are become

become Antichrists *eo Nomine*, and Oppressors of God's People.

And herein give me Leave to premise, That you have either discovered in your self an evil Eye and Enmity towards our Church, beyond our greatest Adversaries of *Rome*, by coining a new Slander and Reproach against us, more than ever was hammer'd in their Forge. Or if true, and no Slander, you have then discover'd a monstrous Blindness and Stupidity in those Eagle-eyed Doctors, who being so continually urged and argued, and condemned by us for this very Principle of implicit Faith (and which is indeed the very characteristic Difference and Distinction between us and them) could never yet, after all their Poring and Diligence, be able to spy it in this Church, or to justify themselves by returning it upon us for Protestant Doctrine.

But let us hear your Proof, and by what Symptoms and Indications you judge of the Disease. By that evil Principle, say you, which denied any Power to be above the Church in the Interpretation of Scripture to a particular Man's Conscience. Truly, Sir, One had need be very far gone in the Disease, and highly infected with the implicit Faith you mention, to believe either the Truth of this your Instance in one Sense; or the Weight and Consequence of it in another. For, if by Church be meant the Church in its whole Latitude and due Extent, as it is Catholick, and comprehensive of all Persons and all Times, then the Apostles and Primitive Saints being likewise included under that *Ara*, to submit implicitly to their Doctrines, and conform to their Practice universal, in Point of Discipline, will not be of Weight to accuse us. But is certainly more explicit and reasonable, than any Reasons and Conjectures of our own to
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the contrary; as being founded upon the Veracity of God himself, who is *Primus credibilium*, and *Principium credibilitatis*; and so infinitely to be preferred by us before our selves.

But if by Church be meant the Church of any one Age exclusively to the first and purest, or of any one particular Place and Denomination; then let the Calumny light where it properly belongs. *Romana Ecclesia est infallibilis*. The Church of England is endued with more modest Principles; never attempting to make a new Article of Faith; but carefully preserving the *Depositum*, committed to her Trust, whole and entire; has, out of this, extracted only what she apprehended most plainly contained in it, and especially conducing to good Life. Which yet, in an humble Opinion of her own Judgment, she imposes upon none, as Truths universally necessary to Salvation; no, nor generally to be believed: Only requires of her Clergy Sons, before she entrusts them with the Power of the Keys, and the Government of the House of God; That they would thus far own and honour Her for their Mother, by testifying under their Hands, That there is nothing in such Her Articles and Enunciations contrary to the Word of God (a rare and singular Example of Christian Meekness and Moderation) leaving, in the mean Time, the rest of her Children free from any personal or particular Attestations. Being abundantly satisfied, if (agreeing with her in the main, and wherein she has manifestly the express and explicit Doctrine of the first Times for her Warrant) they behave themselves in the rest, as her Children in their Places and Callings, without Disturbance of publick Peace, or Seduction of others.

And where then is that evil Principle which restrained the Interpretation of Scripture from a particular

particular Man's Conscience ; so that particular Man always holding the Analogy of Faith, as St. Paul enjoyns, would be contented to be a particular Man still ; not subverting her publick Order ; or by publishing and disceminate his private Interpretations, make himself popular and tumultuous ? And who will have Reason to complain of this, save such, who, under the Name of Christians, take it ill that they may not make Gospel of the Alchoran ? Or who can call this Tyranny in our Church, which she would gladly submit to and accept (and that is sufficient to wipe off the Tyranny) from any other ? And I dare proclaim it in the Name of my Mother, the Church of *England* (though the youngest and very meanest of all her Children) that if the Church of *Rome* (with whom she has had the longest and sharpest Contention of any) would go no farther, as to necessary Matters of Doctrine, than what was so esteemed and taught by the Church Primitive, nor stretch her Discipline beyond that Pattern ; leaving the rest of her Articles, how true soever she may think them, and so under that Name worthy of all Commendations, yet as no necessary Conditions of her Communion, or of absolute Necessity to Salvation : She would then heartily draw together with her in the same Yoke ; and (yielding her the right Hand of Fellowship, and that Primacy of Order and Dignity due unto her Bishop, as being *Prima sedis Episcopus*) carefully maintain the *Unity of the Spirit in the Bond of Peace*.

Rom. 12. 6.
Ἀναλογία
τῆς πίστεως.

But while the Church of *Rome*, absolutely refusing any such Conditions, and scorning to be confin'd, does still press her new Articles equally to be received and submitted to, as the old Truths of God and his Church. We have this to answer for

for our selves: That it seems very unreasonable, that we in this latter Age of the Church of Christ (and so at farthest Distance from those Times of Miracles and extraordinary visible Gifts of God's Spirit, in Confirmation of his Truth) should be tied to believe so much more, upon so much less Evidence. And what was left at liberty then to believe, or not to believe (as many Articles of the present Church of *Rome* confessedly were) should now, without any Pretension of new Proof, or immediate Revelation from Heaven; nay, though, in Appearance at least, contradicting the manifest Truths of God and our own best Reason; be required of us under pain of Damnation. And while all other Topicks failing them, they heap up Testimonies from the Fathers in Defence of such their additional Articles, acoutring them thus (as the *Gibeonites* with mouldy Bread and clouted Shoes) to make us believe that they came from afar, and are of ancient standing in the Church of God. We have apparently this Advantage, (supposing we could not drop Fathers with them; if they themselves be not too much convinced already to suppose any such Thing) That if any one Father say but as we say in this Point wherein we differ; and another in another; and so of the rest (which an easie Undertaker might be able to produce) we are not prejudiced at all by the Number against us. For that from hence it must needs follow, That the contrary to what is so asserted, or but admitted, as probable, by any one Father; was not then received as an Article of Faith, or of Necessity to Salvation in the Church of Christ. Which yet now they are not content under any inferior Character and Superscription, to obtrude upon us. And have withal, so weav'd and mingled many of them into their Devotions, as if they delighted

delighted to stand alone ; thereby forcing and restraining all the rest of the Christian World from their Communion.

Whereas the Church of *England*, when put to compile a Liturgy, even in Separation and Distinction from the Church of *Rome*, by whom she was cast out, was so far from Heat, or Spight, or Animosity ; nay, so full of Charity and Catholick Spirit, not in Word or in Name only, which the Church of *Rome* does so much glory in, but in Deed and in Truth ; that she agrees unanimously upon such a Form, as whereby she might gather together into One all that were scatter'd abroad ; as having nothing in it offensive or contrary to the Romanist ; or so siding and agreeing with him, as thereby to distaste the rest of Christians ; but acknowledged and approved by both.

And surely if the Lord's Prayer, which was designed for the Common Prayer of the whole Christian Church, and the very Badge and Cognizance of Christ's Disciples, may be allowed to hold its Place, and made the Pattern of all Church Liturgies, as it ought ; that Liturgy must needs be acknowledged most Christian and Catholick (as coming nearest to that Form, and most suitable to that Design) not which is most particular, and minute, but which is most comprehensive and large, and wherein the several Differences of the Heads, and Judgments of Christians, are least suffered to work a Division upon their Hearts and Spirits, or come into their Prayers. Which I must take Leave again to commend, as the particular Excellency of this Church of ours, beyond all the Churches, either of the Romanist or Reformed ; as having nothing either in the Matter or Ministration of it to be quarrelled at by either. Whereas the Romanist in his Matter ; and the Reformed
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in his Ministry ; are mutually at Distance from each other. But our Matter being apparently good and innocent in both their Esteems ; the Romanist must acknowledge our Ministry a lawful Ministry, as being the same, and from the same Mission originally with his own. And so the Reformed, however, rejecting Episcopacy, some of them, and the Order of Bishops, which we embrace ; yet acknowledge those whom they reject as Bishops, to be truly Priests *Veri sacerdotes*, and so to have lawful Power of Ordination, and authorizing others to that Function.

In a Word, neither the Ministry nor Ministration of our Church, could ever be made criminous by any Party or Division of Men whatsoever, professing the Name of Christ, save such of this present Generation, who together with ours, reject all Forms and all Ministry : Condemning, upon that very Account, the Lord's Prayer ; and arguing against any sett and distinct Office of Ministry in the Apostles. So that our Indictment in their Mouths runs thus : That not having the Fear of God before our Eyes, we have sided with Christ in a sett Form of Prayer, and succeeded to the holy Apostles in a select and authorized Ministry.

But to return from whence I have thus largely digressed. You are contented at last to see and acknowledge the Excellency of Monarchy, and that according to the Establishment of *England* in an Hereditary Way, above all other Ways and Forms of Government whatsoever.

SECTION. VII.

The strongest *Babel*, say you, that can be devis'd to keep a People from being scattered into these
Confu-

Confusions, is, that Form of absolute Monarchy, and that in an Hereditary Way. Well, let that be stood to ; and then, however it may be reproached for *Babel* (which it partakes in common with all Government) yet while it is confessed to be the best and strongest, the most opposed to Confusion, and aptest for Unity and Peace (to which all Government is designed, and upon which the Life of the Community doth immediately depend ; and wherein every good Man's Interest is especially concerned) we have little Reason to look upon them as good Patriots or good Christians, Lovers of Christ or of their Country, who unhinged us from this Frame, and invited us into Sidings upon Pretensions of being better riveted and united in a popular Way.

But then for the *Babel* which is still affixed to this absolute Form, as how highly soever it pretends, yet falling short of its End, and necessarily admitting, it is said, in some Cases those very Ataxies and Confusions we would labour to prevent. *Est aliquid prodire tenus.* Surely that some Cases only, one or two possible Supposals (as that wherein you instance of the Monarch's being Lunatick, or an Idiot) may bring it to this, will cast no Dirt nor Blemish at all upon Building, while it stands firm and fair, being compared with other Edifices. Which not only these extraordinary and prodigious Events (which, like an Earthquake and general Inundation of the Sea, may seem to bear down all before them ; and against which Men, in very Prudence have not meditated of any Fence) but far lesser Force, and more ordinary Occurrence (as of a Land-flood or stormy Night) levels with the Ground.

That some Out-let there is in Monarchy, for Affairs to run in a popular or Parliament Channel, will

will only prove it to be of the same Piece with our selves, and to suffer *Quid humanum*. There being a Mixture perhaps of Infirmary and Imperfection in the perfectest Good we here enjoy. And therefore to quarrel it off upon this Argument, will be, with the same Breath, to renounce all that is Sacred. And certainly a most stupendious Madness and Partiality, when in lieu and exchange of it, we must take in that which is confessedly worse. A Project and Contrivance that proclaims the Designers *avτοκαταφρονας*, and has no other Pecedent in Story than that of *Medea*,

——— *Video meliora, probòq;
Deteriora sequor.* ———

I see what's better, and approve it so.
Yet eagerly pursue what's worse I know. .

Thus far upon your own Grounds, and supposing the Mischief unavoidable in the Case assign'd, viz. That considering the King may be either a Fool, or Mad, or otherwise Distemper'd, so as to command those Things which are absolutely destructive to that Society which he is bound to preserve; there must in that Case be some Council, or some single Person to govern in his Stead; who must also judge when he is in such a Condition, and not he himself. And so there must be something still like King and Parliament, to give Occasion for the like Differences. But that of otherwise distemper'd, so as to command Things destructive, &c. is a Clause of so much Latitude, as cannot be supposed consistent with any Monarchy, much less an absolute One, as we now speak of. For whatever may be said of a mad Man, or an Idiot, where the Case is evident and open to all Eyes,

Eyes,

Eyes, as the Sun that shines ; and so needs no Disquisition, nor can be imposed upon any that really is not so. Yet the Commands and Policies of a Prince are not so discernable, but liable to many great Mistakes and Misconstructions. And ordinarily so much the more, by how much the better they are, and the deeper his Counsels are laid ; much less by them who being as much out of Ken, have yet an Interest always bribing them to find fault, and defame his Actions, whereby to settle themselves in his Throne, and get the Authority into their own Hands.

Success is that only which makes any Councils or Proceedings good in the popular Esteem. What ends unluckily, was begun, say they, unwarrantably. And he that will be content to have the People for his Judge, must be sure to have good Fortune his Advocate and Friend to plead for him. And then for a single Person, and supposing in that Case such an One to be appointed the Judge, and to determine upon the Actions of his Sovereign, that is still more unreasonable than the former ; as whereby we are conjur'd into a Circle. *Nam, Quis custodiet custodem ?* What better Security have we of this Judge, than we had before of the King ? Or why may not he be as ruinous and destructive to the Kingdom in such his Sentence, as the King may be fear'd to be in his Designs and Machinations ?

But that which gives a full Answer to the Case propounded, is this : That indeed it needs no Answer at all ; for that it manifestly implies a Contradiction, and so can have no Possibility of Truth in it. For to be an absolute Monarch ; and yet to be liable at the same Time to be dethroned by those over whom he is ; and wherein he is thus Absolute, does necessarily suppose him,

at the same Time, and in the same Respect, a King and a Subject; or Absolute and not Absolute. Which manifestly contradicts it self; and carries its own Condemnation along with it. 'Tis true, a Governor may be Absolute in some Respects barely; and such an One may be called a King; but that's abusively only, and is the same that we understand by a mixt Monarch. But a King or Monarch, properly taken, or (as in the Case propounded) an Absolute Monarch, must be such an One, to be sure, who is free from the Power and Penalty of the Laws; who ruling by a paternal Right over the Subjects in his Kingdom, as the Sons and Children of his Family, is not accountable or to be judged by them, whom yet under God he is bound to provide for.

Or suppose him to come in by Compact: Yet to make him Absolute, and a Monarch, he must be free and absolv'd, if not from the Observation and directive Power of the Law, yet from the coercive and condemning Power of it; if not from pecuniary Mulcts, yet from capital Sentence, or, whereby he is in Danger to be deprived of that wherein he is Absolute, his Kingship or Monarchy. For that is the *minimum quod sic* the least Part that can possibly be assigned him of Freedom and Absolution. And therefore is eminently necessary, not only to an absolute, but even to a mixt Monarch. The contrary to this being the very Characteristick of Servitude and Subjection.

And therefore now to untie this stubborn Knot, which through too much Eagerness and Impatience you have thought necessary to break, with Violence, in sunder with the Sword. If the supposed Distemper arise to a Crisis of Frenzy and Impotency of Mind, why then falling in with that
of

of a Fool or mad Man, 'twill be but one and the same Case manifest and apparent to all Eyes, discernable in all his Actions : And then to set up another is not at all to depose him. He is Absolute, and so not to be deposed. But the Frenzy has carried him away first, and removed him from us ; and now he is not himself. And therefore as before by his Greatness and Absoluteness, so now by his Weakness and Impotency, he falls not at all within the Reach of the Law, to be judged or punished by it ; but is succeeded to by the next Heir, as not being, or as to him that is already dead. But if the Distemper be of a lower Nature, as in your Case you seem to put it, by instancing in this Distemper particularly after that of a Fool and Mad-man. Why then his Absoluteness being premised and presupposed, it must necessarily secure him in his Crown. He is still himself, and so the very Man whom the Law invests with Sovereignty and makes Absolute. Which therefore cannot be pretended, to justify any in the Assassinating of his Person, or Usurping his Throne.

The Law in the Case instanced of an Hereditary Kingdom, does not necessarily provide to make the wisest and the best Man King : As appears plainly by entailing the Sovereignty of the King's Heirs before it is known what they will prove ; a Man or a Woman, a Russian or a sober Person ; and not settling it by Election upon one of mature Judgment, approv'd Integrity, and greatest Experience. And yet the Law does much the wisest by this Entail. As thereby however running the Hazards of some Inconveniencies which may happen ; yet avoiding that grand Mischief of Factions and Sidings, and Disunions which are diametrically oppos'd to Government ; and which cannot but fall out in such Canvasings and Elections. Those

Inconveniencies, if at any Time they happen, are but as Maims and Blemishes in the Government; but this of Schism and Disunion, is the very Death and Destruction of it. Which therefore, as is natural for all Bodies, it especially fortifies against, and labours to prevent.

And from hence then we may see not the Law only, but the Reason and Wisdom of the Law, in not admitting the Resistance pleaded for in this supposed Distemper. For that this Distemper not amounting, as was premis'd, to Frenzy, or Idiotism, which is obvious to all, and whereby a Man is no longer a Man or reasonable Creature, must become the Subject of much Dispute and Division; the Occasion for any mutinous and ambitious Party to work upon. And as sometimes it might really prove to be indeed such a Distemper; yet it might oftner, to be sure, be so pretended, when it were not. Which the Law or Government therefore, by admitting in the least, should open a necessary Gap to Confusion; and by Consequence, to its own Destruction. And in Prevention of a remote, and only not impossible Danger, which it might fear to receive at some Time, perhaps, from such a Distemper'd King (if such a Distemper, without a downright *Bedlam* Madness, be not indeed impossible) give it self a Stab to the Heart, whereby it must certainly and immediately expire. And thus the Distemper only, and Feverish Indisposition in the King, you would pretend to cure by an absolute Frenzy and Frantickness in the Government. For so the Poet has already censur'd it,

Furor est, ne moriare, mori.

For fear of Death to dye,
Is *Bedlam* Policy.

The

The Short of it is this: No Policy can give an absolute Security. We must trust some Body. But herein is the Goodness of God, and the Wisdom and Piety of our Ancestors, in deriving to us such a Form as brings us nearest to this Security, and at farthest Distance from Danger; as whereby many most probable and certain Inconveniencies are avoided. And the only possible Mischief which we can fear from our Governor, is so very mischievous and destructive to the Interest of our Governor himself, that we must fear very unreasonably to be afraid of it.

It is in our Power to kill our selves; and yet we are not afraid of our selves, as Mr. *Diggs* observes. Because there is a natural Dearness implanted in us, which secures every one from Self-wrongs. We have as little Cause to be troubled that 'tis in the King's Power to make himself no King, by destroying of his Subjects. For so the King perishes in the Ruin of his People; and the Man only survives, exposed to the Scorn and Hatred, and Revenge of Mankind. Every Man's Interest is the greatest Assurance we can desire of his Integrity. That will hold, to be sure, when all Ties, sacred and humane, are laid aside. And having that so apparently for our Preservation, it must be our Folly and Madness to suspect any such Distemper possibly in the King to destroy us. But all this being granted at last, which we plead for, *viz.* That absolute Hereditary Monarchy is, of all Forms, the best, which you before acknowledge; and that ours, by Law established, is such, which you no where deny; Yet two Objections there are behind, which will still stave us from our desired Conclusion, if they be not taken out of the Way.

SECTION VIII.

The First is from the great Hazard and Expence it will cost us now to bring Things again into their old Channel ; whereby the Remedy is worse than the Disease. And the Well-being which we pursue and court after, in so doing, would prove a pitiful Penny-worth (say you) at the Price and Forfeiture of our very Beings.

Surely this Objection, how gravely and soberly soever you are pleased to set it down, is no other but the Murmurs of the fleshly and beastly Part in you (as you afterwards phrase it) and therefore best answered with Silence and Non-attention, or our Saviour's *Ἔπαγε ὀπίσω μου Σατανᾶ, Get thee behind me, Satan.* For can it put a *Superse-deas* to our Duty, because there is Hardship and Difficulty in the Performance of it ? Must that which is the Mark and Cognizance of Vertue, * *Καλεπὰ τὰ καλὰ,* The Straightness of the Gate, and Narrowness of the Way, be reasonably made use of by Christians as an Argument against it ? Must that which gives it the Crown be held forth as a Check and Discouragement to skare us from it ? Or are we the first that ever delivered this Doctrine, That Oaths and Covenants must be kept to our own Hindrance ? True, supposing we were at our own Choice and Disposal, nothing but our own personal Interest concerned in it ; the Lyon in the Way might reasonably put us to Flight, if we were not as sure (what the Prophet threatens) while we fly from this Lyon, to be met

* *Quid enim plano aditur excelsum ?* Senec. ad Ser. cap. 1.

with a Bear, even utter Spoilings and Devourings ; the Havock of the Church ; and the Harrassing our Estates from this mishapen Power, in case we should be so tame and cowardly not to oppose it. But when, besides the Duty to our selves, we have every one of us a sacred Obligation to the King and his Royal Family, to our Country, to our Kindred, and to our Posterity (*Non nobis nati sumus ; could the Heathen say, sed partem Patria, partem Amici, partem Parentes vendicant*) we should be strangely imposed upon to consider any Thing of our own Danger. Our own particular Well-being is very easily reconcilable, indeed, with the sharpest Miseries which our Enemies can inflict. For we have learned of *St. Paul*, Phil. 4. 11. In whatsoever State we are, therewith to be content : Both to be Full and to be Hungry, to Abound and to suffer Need. And therefore, though we set no great Price upon our Lives and Beings ; yet we have no Temptations to expend them in vain ; or for the Purchase and Procurement of that Well-being which is already in our Hands, and cannot with all the Powers of Men and Devils be wrested from us. This being, not the Godliness of Gain, 1 Tim. 6. 6. but the inseparable Gain and Advantage of Godliness, whenever it is found that it brings Contentment and Well-being (*αὐτάρκεια* is the Apostle's Word, a Self-sufficiency and Satisfaction) along with it.

But when we see our King and his Family expel'd the Kingdom, and exposed to the Charity of Strangers, which yet they are not suffered to partake of ; but as if the King were too much a King, while he has a Kingdom wherein to beg, this also is envied him, and obstructed by his insolent Enemies : What can be a louder and more

importunate Cry for our Assistance, when we see our Friends and dearest Relations every day harass'd and slaughter'd ; and the little Remnant that is left, in continual Tremblings and Suspences between Life and Death ? Woe be to them that are at Ease in *Zion* ; that secure themselves in a whole Skin ; whilst those of the same Flock (of the same Country, Religion, and Relation) lie under the Butcher's Knife, and are mark'd out as Sheep for the Slaughter. Hear what

Prov. 24. 11. the Wise Man says upon the Case. *If thou forbear to deliver them that are drawn to Death, and them that are ready to be slain : If thou sayst, behold we know it not* (or as the vulgar Latin reads, *vires non suppetunt*, just as you object, in this scatter'd and disarmed Posture, we shall but expose our selves to the Sword by such an Attempt) doth not he that pondereth the Heart consider it ? and he that keepeth thy Soul, doth not he know it ? and shall not he render to every Man according to his Works ? Judgment without Mercy to him that hath shewed no Mercy, and that refused to be his Brother's Keeper in the Day of Distress.

And so for our Posterity, and the Generations to come ; how are we concerned in Duty not to give them up to Slavery and Oppression ; but to transmit unto them the same happy Government and Freedoms, which were left us by the Wisdom and Piety of our Fore-fathers ? That which our Ancestors did secure unto us with the utmost Hazard and Price of their Lives, against several Insurrections and Rebellions in their several Ages ; shall we their degenerate Children bring the Curse of all Posterity upon us, for betraying and bereaving them of it ?

Surely

Surely if Being and Well-being had then been laid in the Scales, and minutely considered by our Fathers, with Respect only to their own Particulars, when the Land was infested with Rebels, and the *Danes* had usurp'd the Authority of this Kingdom; the *Danes* had been our Masters unto this Day. The People's scatter'd and disarm'd Posture at that Time might as well have been pleaded for Non-resistance, as now. Their Danger in the Attempt was every whit as great, and the Burthen they groan'd under not more insupportable, than ours. But herein they were honourable and truly worthy; that not unto themselves, but unto us, they were careful for Deliverance. And in Consideration of our Well-being, and those of the Generations to succeed after them, easily despised their own Being, and with their Lives in their Hands, put a sudden Period to that treacherous Usurpation.

For so 'tis not our Being, and our Well-being, as they are set opposite in the Objection, from whence we should calculate and take our Elevation in this Matter (though perhaps, even thus set, the Being will not greatly over-balance a miserable or not Well-being, having little in it to weigh or become desirable with any) but our Being, and the Well-being of the whole Nation, as in that are comprehended, not this present Age and Generation of Men only, but those that are yet in our Loins, and to succeed from us,

Et nati natorum, & qui nascentur ab illis,

even to perpetual Ages. And then it will not seem absurd to you, I presume, or to any sober and considering Person, That the Hazards of this present Age should be freely ventured for the so great

great Happiness and Advantage of all Posterity. And, what we have lost by our Sins, that we should endeavour to repair by our Vertues. The Parents ought to lay up for the Children. And he that provides not for his Family ; for the Peace and Prosperity of his Country ; for the Happiness and Well-being of those that derive from him, or are related to him, τὴν πίσιν ἤρηνται, in 1 Thef. 5. 8. the Apostle's Language, *abnegavit fidem*, he has renounced the Faith, and is worse than an Infidel, who only not believed nor own'd it.

'Twas the professed Honour and Renown of those Infidel Nations which knew not God, to prefer the Community before themselves. And sure our Lord Christ, who gave himself up for us all (and therein infinitely out-did the foremost of those forward Heathens, *Codrux*, *Regulus*, and the rest, at their own Weapon) did never design by that gracious Example of his to shrink us up to a Size and Pittance so much below them, to live only to our selves ; and in Care and Tenderneſs of our Being, to neglect the Welfare and Well-being of all others.

And as to what you add in the Objection concerning those that are engaged, and have already acknowledg'd the present Power : That any Opposition from them will be to their greater Hazards ; and themselves the more inexcusable for such double Dealing : I answer, these greater Hazards and inexcusableness being created by their own Default, will not at all excuse them therefore in their Fears and Unwillingness to venture on them. They are inexcusable indeed for their Sin in Engaging ; but much more inexcusable, if their Sin of Engagement be made an incentive to farther Sinning. Which has properly nothing of an Engagement

agement in it, but to engage them cloſer to Duty, and to expiate their double Dealing (whereby they have added a new Engagement contrary to their old Oaths) with double Diligence. For ſo their great Sin in Engageing does neceſſarily call for a great Repentance; and a great Repentance muſt neceſſarily bring forth great Fruits; *fructus dignos pœnitentiâ*, Fruits meet for ſuch a Repentance. That as they were betrayed before by Fears and Apprehenſions of Danger, to this ſinful Engagement; ſo their μετάνοια, their After-wiſdom and Repentance, will be in utterly ſubduing this ſinful Paſſion, ſlighting all Fears, and boldly encountering whatever Hazards and Difficulties can be laid in their Ways. Whereby it is come to paſs quite contrary to what you fore-ſaw, that theſe, of all others, are the fitteſt Inſtruments for the Work. And by ſo much the more proper and neceſſary for the doing of it, by how much they are the more inexcusable with thoſe againſt whom it is done.

Though after all, perhaps, this wary Diſcourſe of Dangers and Difficulties, may be found, in the End, but a mere Scare-crow. The Uſurpation is not ſo firmly ſettled as not to be removed, but by the Faith of Miracles. *Scalpello Seneca aperitur ad magnam libertatem via; & puncto conſtat ſecuritas.* And not being built upon the Liking of the People (which yet at the beſt, gives but a ſandy and uncertain Foundation, much leſs can it always hover in the Air.) The Devil may keep it a-while upon the Wing, as he did *Simon Magus*, to the Aſtoniſhment Aet. 8. 9. of all: But upon *Peter's* Prayers the Devil is conjur'd down, and Τὸς μέγας (as *Simon* ſtyles himſelf) the great One in Power falls, and tumbles headlong with him into Hell. Only there
is

is one farther Offer made yet, to hold him up and secure him in his high flying. And that is from Success, in these Words.

SECTION. IX.

The Lord having once declared his Mind, say you, by a full Profession, and seconded it with so many signal Providences, we may do well to cease from fighting against his Prerogative, &c. Where God's Hand has been so very manifest in the Work, we may not dare to lift up a Finger against it.

That the Hand of God has been very eminent and remarkable in those severe Judgments that have overtaken us, he must be perfectly blind that does not see; and a very formal downright Atheist that will not acknowledge. And indeed can there be Evil in a City, or in a Nation, and the Lord hath not done it? Affliction comes not forth of the Dust; neither does Trouble spring out of the Ground. A Sparrow falls not to the Ground without your Father; much less doth a whole Nation. Whosoever is the Rod, his is the Hand that smites us. Which yet cannot be supposed therefore to justify or acquit the Instruments, who being Agents likewise, as well as Instruments, not merely passive, but active, and operative in the Judgments, must be accountable for every such Action of theirs in that Rank and Relation wherein God has placed them among Mankind. And so what is just and righteous in God to do, as having a Sovereignty and Lordship over all his Creatures, may yet be sinful and damnable in Men to act against their Equals and Superiors. What is just and righteous in God, to whom I am guilty, may yet be wicked and damnable

nable in Men before whom I am innocent. *Let every Man, says St. Paul, 1 Cor. 7. 24. wherein he is called, therein abide with God.* Though I may do God's Work indeed, and serve his End, and the Interests of his Church; as whatever we do, we cannot do otherwise, his infinite Wisdom disposing and improving our worst Actions to those Ends, (even the Crucifixion of Christ to his greater Glory, and the Salvation of Mankind) yet we abide not, we work not with God in any Action, how fair and specious soever, that carries us out of our Calling, or disturbs that Subjection and Subordination wherein God has placed us.

And sure for the Success which follows upon such Actions, that being *ex post facto*, can never be our Commission for the doing of them. No, nor secondly, any Mark or Testimony of God's Approbation to them when done. First, because it is common and indifferent to all Actions, Good and Evil; according to that of Solomon. *No Man knows either Love or Hatred, by all that is before him. All Things come alike to all. There is one Event to the Righteous and to the Wicked; and therefore no Judgment to be made from thence. If the Trumpet give an uncertain Sound, says St. Paul, who shall prepare himself for the Battel?* How shall we call that the Voice of God, or what can we rely upon in an uncertain insignificant Sound? But then, Secondly, the Alteration of God's Oeconomy since the Days of Solomon, now that a greater than Solomon is here, does yet farther weaken the Argument from Success, as much more enclining the contrary Way. And being look'd upon through the Glass of the Gospel, it does rather prejudice and condemn that Cause on which Side it stands. *Lo, these are the Ungodly; these prosper*

prosper in the World; and these have Riches in possession. Son, remember that thou in thy Life-time receivedst thy good Things. While, in the mean time; Sufferings and Afflictions are measured out for the Lot of the Righteous. In the World ye shall have Tribulation, says our Saviour. All that will live godly in Christ Jesus, says St. Paul, shall suffer Persecution. And then mark what follows in the next Words. But evil Men and Seducers shall wax worse and worse; deceiving, and being deceived. The Godly shall be persecuted by the Wicked, and so made better; but evil Men and Seducers shall wax worse, and worse; nameiy, for Want of Persecution. For so the Context and Coherence of the Words does plainly expound it. Being deceived themselves, and deceiving others; by Reason of the low Estate of the Godly, and their own great Power above them, and Prosperity against them; Suitable to that Saying of Solomon; *The Prosperity of Fools shall destroy them.*

And indeed, Success is a Bait so proportion'd and well relishing to our Palate, that the Saints of God, Job, David, Jeremy, and the rest, have been in Danger to be snar'd by it. If it were possible, it would seduce the very Elect. And therefore no marvel if the Men of the World find some Savour, and lay so much Weight upon it. Thus in the Turkish Divinity, *Prosperum scelus virtus vocatur.* We read of Selimus justified and approved by them for deposing and destroying his Father. *Nam rerum exitus satis docuit, fatis the Historian, illum, quod fecit, divino fecisse instinctu, & cœlitus fuisse prædestinatum.* The Prosperous Event did sufficiently declare him to be predestinated and set on by God. While, in the mean time, unfortunate Bajazet, who took up Arms to defend his Life against his Brother, is bitterly execrated

ecrated and accursed by them, merely upon this Account; because he was unfortunate, and thrived not in the Attempt. And surely the Providence of God in this *Turkish* Doctrine, and those great and flourishing Empires, which the Worshippers of *Mahomet* have attained unto from very mean and inconsiderable Beginnings, did design, as by a standing Exemplar superadded to this Word, to take off Christians from gazing after Success, or applauding themselves at any Time in Faction or Division among themselves, by this Argument, which must plead for the common Enemy of Christendom, and if thoroughly received and rely'd upon, advance *Mahomet* above Christ. And just it is, that those who still take Pleasure in Unrighteousness (*qui Turcam gerunt in pectore*, as *Erasmus's* Phrase is) should be condemned to a *Turk's* Paradise, even a strong Delusion, ἐνέργεια πλάτης, to be brought upon them by God, as the Apostle foretels, ἐν πάσῃ δυνάμει, in strange Successes 2 Thef. 2. and great Power. While they consider not what is excellently hinted to them by his late Majesty, That the Wind which fills the Pirate's Sails, where there is nothing at all of Man in it, but immediately the Hand of Heaven, and so lays a fairer Plea to Providence than any the Successes and Atchievements they so much boast of, does not at all justify his Piracy, or approve his Rapine, though it bring him safe with his ill-gotten Goods into the Harbour. I shall dismiss this Point fully when I have translated the Heathen Poet's Wish into a Christian Prayer.

*Careat successibus opto,
Quisquis ab eventu facta notanda putat.*

Lord, with ill Luck vouchsafe that Man to bless,
Who judges Actions merely by Success.

But

But in all this arguing against Success, and that false Bottom which is pretended by you for the establishing of a Right, We may not be thought to fight against God's Prerogative ; or deny him the Power of disposing the Kingdoms of Men to whom he pleases, without being asked what he does, though he should give them to the Basest of Men. For while we deny this of Success and signal Providences, as you style them, to be God's Way (such a Way, that is to say, as must be supposed to make up for all other Defects and Irregularities, and Incapacities whatsoever) we do not at all doubt, but God has his Way for the Bringing about what seems good in his Eyes. Even the basest and meanest Wretch upon the Earth, may, by the Power of God, be advanced to a Kingdom, and dignified with Dominion. And in all this we ask not God what he doth, or why he does so ; but rest satisfied and rejoyce, in as much as he is the Doer of it. The only Query is, How he does it ? And that certainly, since all Ways are equally open and easy to him, we may not believe he does by Ways and Means which his Soul hates. *O House of Israel, are not my Ways equal, are not your Ways unequal ?* The unequal Ways and Actions are our own, which the more they grow and thrive, whatever Providences they may pretend to, they are still but the more unequal, and at farthest Distance from God's Ways. The Devil indeed may, by these wicked and unequal Ways, give us the Possession of a Crown and Kingdom (for all these are mine, saith the Devil Luk. 4. 6. truly in a limited Sense, and to whomsoever I will, I give them) but to shew that Power is quite another Thing, it is wholly reserved in another Hand. *There is no Power but of God.* And so it does not necessarily go along with

with Possession ; unless we should think that God is but the Devil's Minister ; bound to approve and authorize what the Devil does.

And then, what means the Law of Restitution ? And how pitifully did *Zaccheus* overshoot himself in the Gospel, by restoring four-fold what he had taken by false Accusation ? If Possession be indeed a good Tenure, be-like his Crime was, that he had not taken enough : If to his false Accusation he had but added Rebellion and Execution ; if while he was nibbling at Pence he had but exacted Pounds ; and while he was pilfering the Commons Coffers, he had but plunder'd *Cesar* of his Crown, *Euge bone serve !* well done, good and faithful Servant ! have thou Authority over ten Cities. Instead of his four-fold Restitution, he had been highly applauded and immediately authorized by God in the Dominion of it.

It has been an old Complaint against the Corruption of humane Laws, that they were as Spiders Webbs, where the little Flies are hamper'd and taken, but the great Ones break through and escape. And this, only in Relation to Persons, the common and ordinary Sort of People compar'd with those of the greater Quality and Estate, tho' both guilty of the same Offence. But how much a fouler Corruption is it that is here charged on the Laws of God ? O what a Spider's Webb do these poisonous Tongues make of it ! Not the accepting of Persons indeed, the Rich any more than the Poor ; but, which is much more horrid and blasphemous, the accepting of Sinners, the great Sinners before the Little. And while little Sinners, petty Robbers, are taken and damn'd, the great Thieves and Murtherers, not escape only, but are highly honoured and rewarded by him. And having out-sinned the Punishment of

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humane

humane Laws, which lesser Villanies fall under, they have thereby escaped the Vengeance of God : And as by a Probation Exercise (I tremble to write it) have approved themselves for the bearing of his Image, and being in his Stead among Men.

SECTION. X.

And to make all this good, we are remitted in the last Place to the Fourth of *Daniel*. Where, upon serious Perusal, something may be found hinted, you think, that may be for our Satisfaction in this Point.

Truly, though the Method being so very improper, to seek for that in the Dark which we cannot find in the clear Light ; and being condemned in the New Testament, as in open Court ; still to traverse the Suit, and hope to be acquitted in the obscure Prophets : I am utterly hopeless that a serious Perusal will be to the Purpose in this Matter. Yet seeing this Place of *Daniel* is your last Refuge ; and though beaten out of the Field, you will still talk of a Reserve behind the Hedges (as the poor dispersed Jews bragg of a great flourishing Empire they have at this Day in some remote Country) I will seriously peruse, and as faithfully set down, all that may sound this way in that Fourth Chapter. Which is no more than has been already considered by us : *That the most High ruleth in the Kingdom of Men, and giveth it whomsoever he will, and setteth up over it the basest of Men, vers. 17. And the most High ruleth in the Kingdom of Men ; and giveth it to whomsoever he will, vers. 25. And so again in the same Words, vers. 32 And none can stay his Hand, or say unto him, What doest thou ? vers. 35. And all*

all this exemplified there in *Nebuchadnezzar*, who for his proud Ignorance was humbled by God into a very Beast ; and from reigning on the Throne, driven to eat Grass with the Oxen, and to be wet with the Dew of Heaven ; till after a Time, his Reason and humane Soul again returning, he was restored again to his Kingdom ; *and excellent Majesty was added unto him, vers. 36.*

Now, what is there in all this, which, without manifest Wrestling, can possibly bear that horrid and hellish Superstructure which is laid upon it ? Nay, so far is it from a Hint this Way, as indeed it affords a full Heap of Proof to the contrary. For if God give the Kingdom to whomsoever he will, and setteth up over it the basest of Men, and in all this no Man may say unto him, What doest thou ? then none, certainly, may pretend Authority to question, or depose, or murder him that is thus set up by God, though he should be the basest of Men, and they could bring a Charge against him of Tyranny and Misgovernment twenty Years. 'Tis a Right that is only reserved in the Hands of God. *He ruleth in the Kingdoms of Men.* And therefore to shew his Power, and exemplify his Way of deposing Kings in *Nebuchadnezzar*, and disposing of Kingdoms, he does not (for all *Nebuchadnezzar's* Baseness, though the basest of Men) arm his Subjects against him, while he continued to be their King (this is none of God's Way) but he first takes away his Capacity to govern, by turning him into a Beast : And then, they who were formerly his Subjects, while he was himself, upon this great and evident Change, cease to be so ; and accordingly drive him from among Men. Which is exactly parallel to what we said before in the Case of Idiotism, and downright Madness : Whereby the King degenerates,

and ceases to be a reasonable Creature. He can be no longer a King, that is not a Man. God, who only could, by taking away his Reason, hath deposed him from his Royalty. God hath deposed him, and not Man. And to shew that this is it alone which did unking him, *viz.* The same that did plainly and evidently unman him : *Nebuchadnezzar* no sooner returns to be a Man, but his Kingdom returns unto him again. All his former Failings and Miscarriages, all the *Inter regnum*, and seven Years Possession of the Kingdom in other Hands, does not prejudice his Title, or prevent him of his Crown. From the basest of Men, nay, from a very Beast, he is again become *Βασις τοῦ λαοῦ*, as the Etymologist derives the Word, the *Bas*is and Foundation, and Support of the People. The Baseness of Man is no Obstruction against the Dignity and Dominion of God. *Thus shall it be done to the Man whom God delighteth to honour.* All his Baseness is immediately covered and swallowed up in that Excellency, and Majesty put upon him by God.

But this makes nothing for the Baseness of the Means whereby God is by you supposed to do this. We make no Peradventure at all but that this present Usurper, though base enough in his first Extract and Original, being one of the *οἱ πολλοί*, the lowest of the lower House of Men ; and who has made himself much baser by his daring and dissembled Villany, whereby he is become, without a Rival, the basest of Men ; and at least the Image of *Nebuchadnezzar's* Beast, may yet be dignified by God with Sovereignty and Dominion. *Is any thing too hard for the Lord ?* Has he not Ways and Means enough to entitle him to it, if it seemed good in his Eyes, either by a Voice from Heaven, and setting the People at liberty

liberty from their former Allegiance, and then disposing their Suffrage on him ; or by bringing him into Alliance with the Royal Family, or the like ? Only we say (and sure against that there can be no Pretence made from the Fourth of *Daniel*) that the Price of Blood is not to be cast into the Treasury of the Lord. Rebellion, Murther, and the like, are not to be put upon his Account, or to be imagin'd as God's Way for the Authorizing and Impowering any Person. *Hast thou killed, and also taken Possession ?* was yet far enough from entitling *Ahab* to *Naboth's* Vineyard. And sure would have been of as little Force, if *Naboth* had contriv'd the Sentence, and usurp'd upon King *Ahab*.

God's Providence was indeed very visible and remarkable, *etiam Deo digna*, in settling the Government of this Land upon the Family of the STEUARTS, by taking away one King and two Queens successively by his own Hand without Children ; *Edward* the Sixth, Queen *Mary*, and Queen *Elizabeth*, the only Posterity of *Henry* the Eighth ; without the Contrivance, and beyond the Thought and Expectation of Men. And yet farther, He brought our late King to the Throne, which he was never born to, by taking away his elder Brother in the Hopes, and Strength, and Prime of his Years. And was not his Providence as visible upon this, when in the Rout and Overthrow of his Army at *Worcester*, he, who was the only Man aim'd at, was the only Man, well nigh, that escaped ? *This was the Lord's Doing, and it was marvellous in our Eyes.* Whereas now for the Outing and Rejecting of them, Dispossessing and Discarding of the Royal Family, so much own'd by God by so many Steps and Gradations, with so many Arts and Methods provided for by him, what do

we meet withal but the Wickedness and Impiety of Men? and that indeed as visible and eminent as God's Providence was before for the Advancement of them. God raised them to the Throne as it were without Man, immediately by himself, and Man has pull'd them down without God: So plainly and manifestly without God, that no Pretence is laid to God's Work in the Matter; but that which is the most opposite and contrary to it, which does really profess God at the greatest Distance and Abhorrence from it, Your Thriving and Prospering in your Sin. *Sin, when it is finished, bringeth forth Death.* And sure God is never so expressly angry and offended at us; never removed so far from us; never leaves us so wholly to our selves, as when he suffers us to compleat our wicked Purposes.

S E C T I O N. XI.

And thus, Sir, having run through your whole Letter, and duly consider'd every Part of it that could be any where improved into an Objection, I should think it a fit Season to take my Leave, But when I look back, and find this Reply swelled to such a monstrous Bulk, beyond the Pittance and Proportion of an Epistle, which is all I designed; I have no Way to bring my self into Shape now, but by stretching it wider; and so set up for a little Volume. Which gives me Scope therefore (holding my self still to the subject Matter before me) to review again the Title of Possession, as it stands pleaded for by Mr. *Ascham*, and so downwards from that Text of St. Paul, Rom. 13. *Let every Soul be Subject to the higher Powers. For there is no Power but of God. The Powers that be, are ordained of God. Whosoever therefore*

therefore resisteth the Power, resisteth the Ordinance of God. And they that resist, shall receive to themselves Damnation. Here the great Emphasis is laid upon the Powers that be. Which *eo Nomine* in that they be, however they come so to be, are acknowledged by the Apostle, say they, to be ordained by God; and then, under Pain of Damnation, not to be opposed or resisted by us.

Si violandum est jus, regni causa violandum est, Thus much the Heathens, who knew not God, were contented sometimes to bid for a Kingdom, even the Price and Forfeiture of common Justice. But these Saints are the first Men, I believe, that ever professed such Love to a Crown, as to brag of the Bargain, and think it a huge Pennyworth at the Loss and utter Damnation of their Souls. For so they expressly do, while they strive and plead for it on this Tenor. For there was a Time, we know, within the Memory of Man, when the Government was held in other Hands. To whom certainly that Title was then as justly applicable *Αἱ ἐξουσίαι*, *The Powers that be*. And being so, *ex ore proprio*, their own Argument, and their own Mouth does plainly urge Damnation upon them for rising up, and resisting of those Powers then in being. *They that resist shall receive to themselves Damnation.* The Application is so easy and obvious, as I cannot believe them so very blind as not to see it. Only they are so eagerly bent to secure themselves in the Throne for the present, as in order to that they can willingly bind themselves to Damnation for ever after. And that is indeed such a vast Price, and so round a Payment, as God may afford them (and we shall have little Reason to grudge that he should afford them) all the Peace and pleasureable Enjoyments

of their Lusts and Ambitions in this World; the Spoils and Treasure of a poor Church; the Sway and Government of one small Island. Alas! that inflamed Reckoning which will be put upon them at last in Hell Torments, might seem hugely unreasonable and disproportioned, if they had not this Bill of Fare going before: *Son, Remember that thou in thy Life-time receivedst thy good Things.*

But the Text will, they say, remain still untouched. *Incommodum non solvit Argumentum.* The Argument is good, and proves what we bring it for, though we perhaps should be damn'd by it. To that therefore (when I have premised what is already supposed in the Objection, and which Mr. *Ascham* expressly grants; Or if he did not, is apparently proved by Mr. *Diggs*, in his Casual Paraphrase; and yet more largely and most convincingly by Dr. *Hammond*, in his Annotations on the Place. That by Powers here (*The Powers that be*) are meant, not merely Power and Authority abstracted from Persons; but Persons cloathed with that Authority) I now make Reply, by distinguishing between *ἔξουσία* and *δύναμις*, *Potestas & Vis*; Power and Force; Authority and Usurpation. And the Apostle's Inference and Argument being wholly founded upon the former *ἔξουσία*, *Potestas*, Powers and Magistrates; is so far from being applicable, that it is down-right contrary, and destructive unto *δύναμις*, Tyrants and Usurpers. For so the Apostle proceeds. *Let every Soul be subject to the higher Powers* (*ὑποτάσσαι τοῖς ἑξουσίαις*) *For there is no Power* (*οὐκ ἔστι δύναμις ἔξουσία*) *but of God. The Powers that be* (*αἱ ὁ θεὸς ἑξουσίαι*) *are ordained of God.* And then follows his Inference or Conclusion. *Whosoever therefore resisteth the Power* (*ὁ ὁτις ἀντιστάτω τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ*)

(Ὁς ἐστὶ ἀντὶ τῆς ἐξουσίας) resisteth the Ordinance of God, &c.

That the Apostle herein restrains himself wholly to ἐξουσία, is evident by the Words thus truly and orderly set down. And that ἐξουσία is used by him in its proper limited Signification, for lawful Power and Authority, with Exclusion to Intruders and Usurpers, will as easily appear from the Adjuncts and Attributes he ascribes to it, and from the Inference and Deduction he draws from it. From the Adjuncts and Attributes, That it is of God : And farther, (ἐκ θεοῦ ἐστὶ μὴ ἐκ θεοῦ) 'tis not but of God : Not of God barely and at large, as all Things generally may be said to be ; but so wholly and immediately of God, as of no other whatsoever in the least. Which certainly cannot be understood of all Powers in the general : For then we must arraign God of all the Robberies, and Violences, and Oppressions that were committed in the World. And the Magistrate cannot pretend to punish a Thief or an Oppressor, for that he is a Power, as to what he has thus got into his Power, of the same divine Original and Establishment with himself : And so acts as lawfully and authoritatively, in his Sphere, as the Magistrate can be supposed, upon that Ground, to act in his. *Magna regna magna latrocinia.* And I am equally bound to deliver up my Purse upon the Demand of the Thief, having a Power over me, as to pay a Tax or Tribute upon the Command of the Magistrate. They are both authorized by God. *For there is no Power but of God.* Nay, the Devil himself will come in for a large Share. And if Possession be that which makes a Power, he will be found to be the ἐξουσία ὑπερῆχουσα, the supreme Power, set up and established by God ; and so ruling lawfully and *Jure divino*
in

in the Children of Disobedience, who
 Ephes. 2. 2. would become much more the Children of Disobedience, if they should resist him, and thereby become liable to greater Damnation. *They that resist, shall receive to themselves Damnation.*

And therefore the Apostle, that he might not lie open to this devilish Misconstruction, gives us, in the next Place, the Limitation of Powers. *Αἱ δὲ ἐξουσίαι*, Not the Powers that be, as we translate it; but *Quæ autem sunt Potestates*, as the vulgar Latin; or, *Et quæ sunt Potestates*, as Beza renders it, and those which be Powers: Those who are intended by that Name, who we say are from God only, and to whom that Title and Honour does properly belong, of *ἐξουσίαι*, Powers. However, in other Respects they be Heathens and Idolaters, and so very disorderly and contrary to God, as the *Roman Cæsars*, of whom he spoke: Yet *ἐξουσίαι ἐξουσίαι*, their being Powers; or as to Magistracy and Power, *καὶ τὸ θεὸς τεταγμέναι εἰναι*, they are ordered and ordained by God, placed regularly; that is to say, in that Rank and Order of Superiority by God himself. Than which nothing can be more opposite to, and exclusive of those counterfeit Powers; who, in Opinion of their Saintship and orderly Subjection to God in other Matters, have assum'd to themselves a Sovereignty; made themselves Judges and Dividers over us without any Commission, and against the plain Order and Ordination of God among us. This being such a *Unicum necessarium* in the Case; that as to be right and regular in this Matter, to have God's Ordination to it, does so fully empower any Person, that no Impieties or Miscarriages of his own, no Misfortunes or Misadventures that can befall him from others, can divest him

him of it, *καὶ τὸ Θεὸν τεταγμένον ἔστι.* Take him at the worst and lowest, he is still a Sovereign Power, and has thereby a just Propriety in the *Regalia*, in all those Honours and Privileges which God and Man have any where affixed to the Higher Powers. Whereas on the other side, if one miscarry in this Point, and get into the Throne disorderly; all the Piety, Prosperity and Possessions which Men and Angels can pretend to, will nothing avail towards the making him a Power, or salve up the Defect of God's Ordination. They may set him up, indeed, in high Places, and flatter him with Names, and Titles, and Honours, but all is disown'd and rejected by God, because not conferred by his Order. *They have set up Kings, says he, but not by me: Hos. 8. 4. they have made Princes, but I knew it not.*

And then it follows aptly in the next Words; *Of their Silver and their Gold have they made themselves Idols.* An Idol-king on the Throne, and an Idol-god in the Temple. An Idol-king that can neither do Good nor Evil, that has no just Power for the Punishment of Evil-doers, or for the Praise of them that do well. Because set up, but not by me; because made a Prince without my Knowledge, in a Way which I never authorized nor approved. *But the Lord knoweth the Way of the Righteous.* *Αἱ ὅτι ἔσται ἐξουσίαι,* Those which are rightly Powers, whatever else they miss and fail in, are certainly regular in this, That they are ordered and ordained by God.

And as the Apostle has fully explicated and explained the Meaning of this Phrase: When he derives the Power from God only, and beaten back all those shameless impudent Pretenders, who would nestle themselves under the Generality of those Terms, by farther adding, That this
Power

Power is ordained of God. To be a Power from God, is not to make our selves so, or be authorized by any other, Officers or Army : but to be ordained of God. Yet because these restless Contenders will *nodum in Scirpo quærere*, and catch hold on any Bulrush to save themselves from drowning ; or rather indeed from discerning the Truth, and being saved. To be ordain'd of God here, say they, and to be *The Ordinance of God*, ver. 2. is nothing else but, To be decreed and ordained of God from all Eternity to such a Power ; and to be invested with it, in Time, by virtue of this Ordinance or Decree : Which Title we justly challenge, say they, being now actually possessed of it ; which certainly we could not be either without, or against God's Decree.

Not to plunge my self into the vast Ocean of God's secret Counsels and Decrees, whose Name being secret, we are thereby forbidden to enquire after. *Cum vides velatam, quid inquiris in rem absconditam ?* This Tree of Knowledge is certainly the forbidden Fruit : And in the Search whereof it is much easier to lose our Eyes, than find an Issue ; as being the most immense and inscrutable Treasury of an infinite and incomprehensible Wisdom. Yet, thus much we may venture to assert, That either all Things which befall here on Earth, however foreseen and foreknown by God, are not all of them so necessarily constrain'd by any Decree of God's, to fall out as they do, but that some of them (at least as to any such Decree) might fall out otherwise than they do : Or else, that it is lawful, nay, pious and necessary in us to oppose some Events which God has decreed. The Reason of the Consequence is plainly this : Because we are commanded to oppose the Being of some Things which yet actually are, and continue

tinue to be. Whereupon it follows, that either they are without a Decree, according to my first Proposition ; or else, that we are bound to resist some Things which God has decreed, as was said in the Second. Either of these Propositions being granted (as one of them must, for that both cannot be false) it will follow, that either your Possessing of the Place is no sure Evidence of God's Decree ; or, supposing it to be so, yet that you are not thereby secured from Opposition and Resistance : Nay, that our Duty and Piety to God may urge us, perhaps, notwithstanding, to root you out. Thus Diseases and Invasions, though both from God, and, according to your Tenet, from God's Decree, are yet to be repuls'd by Force and Physick. And who knows whether the Decree to remove you again, be not as fixed and pressing, as that whereby at present you stand possessed. *Be not high minded, but fear.*

But to take away all seeming Force of this Objection : To be ordain'd by God, and the Ordinance of God, cannot be here understood barely of his Decree. For the Words are *τεταγμέναι* and *διαταγῇ* ; which an easy Grecian must needs know, derive themselves from *τάττω* or *τάωω* (*Non mandato aliquid instituto*, says Beza, on the Words, not to command, or decree, but) *ordino*, or *in ordinem dispono* to place, or to dispose in Order. Thus the Centurion in the Gospel is *ὑπὸ ἐξουσίαν ταῦτάς τε* plac'd or rank'd under Authority. Thus *τάξις* signifies Order, and *ἁλαξία* Disorder and Confusion. And thus *διαταγῇ* must not signify an Ordinance, as that is taken *Usu forensi* for a Statute or Decree, but properly, God's Ordination (and accordingly the *Latin* Translations, both Beza's and vulgar, have *Ordinatae sunt*, and *Ordinationi*) as that Word is used in the Ecclesiastical Acceptation

tion for the placing or admitting of a Person, by some Formality or other, into such or such an Order. So that ordained by God here, is to have God's Ordination; and is the same with what the Apostle terms in another Place, Heb. 5. 4. *called of God. No Man takes this Honour to himself, but he that is called of God.* Where, called of God, we see, is manifestly opposed to taking of it himself; and so cannot be the same Thing. And how then can we ground or imagine God's Decree, or Call, or Ordination upon this Argument, which is, of all other, the most evident Bar against it. No Man is so clearly and evidently not the rightful Power, as he that takes it unto himself, and pleads and challenges it upon that Title. Inasmuch as standing still, or not acting, is more competible, or less contrary to God's Call and Ordination, than running on one's own Head. For some Men have been called, or sent, or ordained by God, which have delayed to go, and act: But no Man that took it to himself, that run upon his own Head, was ever called or impowered by him. *Οἱ λαβόντες τὴν μάχαιραν*, They that take the Sword, are adjudged already, by our Saviour, to perish by the Sword. Not only to bear it in vain (which is enough to take them off from being a rightful Power. *For he beareth not the Sword in vain*) but to bear it manifestly against themselves, and to become their own Executioners by it. Which they can only fence, by plainly denying our Saviour and St. Paul. That whereas they speak of taking the Sword, and taking Honour *εἰς ἑαυτῶν* to one's self, in Opposition to God's Call; it is utterly groundless; must these Men say, there cannot possibly be any such Thing. The having of Honour, is a certain Evidence of being called
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by God. And possessing of the Sword does manifestly entitle one to the Power of it. And therefore leaving them a-while to try it out with God and his Word, I must be allowed, upon this Authority, to suppose their Possession turn'd out of Doors. And then the only Task remaining for me, is to find out something to fill up the Place, that may be an evident Mark of God's Ordination, whereby this Power is convey'd to a Person, and how we shall know it.

God's Lordship and Sovereignty over us, does originally arise from the Right of a Creator : In that he is the Cause and Author of our Being ; he must necessarily have an absolute Dominion over us, who are produced and created by him. *It is he that hath made us, and not we our selves,* says the Psalmist. And then it follows regularly in the next Words, *We are his People, &c.* And as he was pleased not to produce all Men, as he did *Adam*, solely and immediately by himself, though he had the Residue of the Spirit, as the Prophet speaks ; but to take in Man as a *Συνεργός*, and Co-partner with him in the Production of the rest, deriving them by Generation one from another. He has hereby admitted Man likewise into a Partnership of his Sovereignty : Made him naturally a Sovereign over those who receive their Being and Production from him. And thus Parents are Petty-gods in relation to their Children ; and Children have the Obligation of Creatures upon them, in Respect unto their Parents : And this not only to their next and immediate Parents who beget them, but upon the same Tenor (for *Causa causa est causa causati*) to their Parent's Parents, *Avus, Proavus, Tritavus*, Grandfather, Great-grandfather, and so upwards. Every One in the whole Category and Succession of them
being

being a *Subalternum genus*: That is to say, a Power in respect of those under them; but a Species and Subject still, in respect of the *Summum genus*, the Supreme Parent from whom they flow, and by whom they are sent. And thus a Family becomes a Kingdom; and the King, or *Pater patriæ*, Father of the Country, is the very *Paterfamilias*, Master of the Family. And as *Noah*, if he were still alive, would certainly be *Rex Catholicus* not in Title only, but in Truth, the Catholick or Universal Monarch of the whole World; as being the Father of all the Families and Kingdoms now in being. So this Universal Monarchy must necessarily expire upon his Death, and become divided, as it was between his three Sons, *Shem*, *Ham* and *Japhet*: None of them being a Father, and therefore not a King over the other; but every one a Father, and absolute in his own Family. *Shem*, the elder Brother, being still but a Brother; and so though he had many Privileges and Priorities, even a double Portion above the rest, as due by his Birthright: Yet, not necessarily, or by the Law of Nature, to succeed into a paternal Power over his Brethren, no more than he could be a natural Father to them.

And as here began the Distinction of Kings and Kingdoms, in these three Brethren and their Families; so they all multiplying into many Sons, and those Sons into many more, who were all, after their Fathers Deaths, as their Fathers before them had been, Absolute and Independant Monarchs over their respective Children. Every Family being still a several Kingdom, it must needs be, that in Process of Time, among so many Kings and Kingdoms, all Absolute and Independent from one another, there could not but fall Matter of continual and endless Controversy: Every lesser
Family

Family oppressed by the Greater: Every Difference with a Neighbour being only determinable by the Sword, and to be managed by a bloody War. For the avoiding of which great Inconvenience, manifestly arising from the Multiplicity of Kings and Kingdoms, we must suppose, That either admonished by God, or prompted by right Reason, these several Fathers of Families, so many of them as were adjoyn'd by any Nearness of Place, and Kindred meeting together in one Body, and others in another, and so of the rest, did give up this their Absolute Power, which they had severally before over their own Families, into the Hands of some one Person, incorporating themselves and their Families into his Family; adopting themselves his Children; and by uniting their several paternal Powers into him alone, did thereby make and acknowledge him the common Father of them all: And that not personally only, or with Limitation to his particular Self, (for then at his Death they must have returned to the same Inconveniencies as before. Which, by the greater Increase of Families, would then become much greater; and which therefore they were concern'd the rather, and with greater Diligence to prevent) but to his Heirs after him. So making his Family to be a Family of Fathers in their several Generations, to them and their Families for ever.

And that this is indeed the true Original of Kings and Monarchs, all particular paternal Powers being really transfer'd and united in them, is very evident, as Mr. Diggs observes. Because else we should be bound to obey our Father's Commands before those of the King's. For divine Precept stands in full Force, *Honour thy Father, &c.* Which being, as St. Paul says, *the first*
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Commandment with Promise, and the first in the Second Table, does certainly, in its own Weight and Obligation (and so ought to do in our Value and Observance) out-strip all other After-commandments of the same Nature with it, or relating to Man. And were not therefore to be set lower, in the least, by honouring and obeying the King before our Father; if it were not certain that the King is more our Father than our Father that does beget us. *Tam pater nemo est in terris*. No Man is so much our Father, as the King: And to whom therefore the Honour enjoy'd us towards our Father, does most eminently and in the first Place, upon that very Account, belong.

But if this Derivation of Kingly Power should not become, perhaps, so plain and intelligible to ordinary Apprehensions, as too far removed out of their Sight: I shall endeavour, in a new Draught, to bring it nearer; and by clear and evident Instances, to facilitate the Understanding of it.

God doth impower a Person, or call and ordain him to Power by two Manner of Ways: Either mediately, or immediately: Immediately and by himself, so he called *Aaron* to the Priesthood; *Saul*, and so after him *David*, to the Kingdom: Mediately, or by Right, from these, as *Eleazar*, and his Sons after him, succeeded to *Aaron*; so *Solomon*, and his Sons after him, succeeded *David* in the Kingdom. Though all these may be rather said to be immediately call'd by God, in as much as in the first Investiture and conferring Authority on *Aaron* and *David*, the Promise, and so the Power, was made to them and their Seeds for ever. Which yet, while it was immediately done by God, was never so immediately done by him as not to take in the Ministry

nistry of Men for the doing of it ; even some known authentick Prophet to convey this Message, to call and consecrate the Person to this Authority. Thus *Moses*, by God's Appointment, settles the Priesthood upon *Aaron* : And *Samuel*, the Kingdom upon *David*. And whoever will derive from this Claim, even this immediate Call from God, must not pretend I know not what Revelations from Heaven, between God and his own Soul ; the secret Whisperings of a private Spirit to empower him in it. For besides that a Man's own Ambition will easily whisper and prompt him to such Motions ; God's own secret and immediate Way is not so very secret and immediate. And upon this Reason ; because Power and Authority being a Relative to Obedience, the Power of the King to the Obedience of the People, if it were thus privately and secretly conveyed, to him only whose Interest and Advantage it is to pretend it ; how could this draw after it the Subjection and Obedience of the People, unless we should resolve quite contrary to *David's Omnis homo mendax*, All Men are Lyars ; that every Man speaks right and truth in his own Cause. Which Principle, as soon as ever it could be taken up, must necessarily be proved false by so many Pretenders as would arise under the Favour of it, one against another. And therefore the Revelation, in this Case, must be to the People as well as to the Prince ; or, as God has better design'd it, to a Prophet known and acknowledged by all. Otherwise, if God should secretly call him to be the Prince or Protector ; yet, where has the People, by this, any Call or Warrant to be his Subjects ? If he have a Revelation to be our Sovereign ; yet we have no Revelation to be his Subjects. And how is he a Prince then that has no People ? Let

the Prince therefore that pretends this Tenure, produce his Prophet ; and the Prophet produce his Commission. Which, if he can confirm with no better Miracle than that lying Wonder of Success, and causing Fire to come down from Heaven ; killing and slaying as many as will not receive him : He proves himself but a false Prophet by all this. As appears, *Rev. 13. 13. And he, and the Beast which he worships, the $\text{\textit{\text{Pseudobasileus}}}$, and the $\text{\textit{\text{Pseudoprophetes}}}$ shall both be cast* *Rev. 19. 20. alive, says God, into a Lake of Fire burning with Brimstone.*

But indeed whatsoever is said, this immediate Way and Call, could only be expected when God was pleased to govern immediately by a Voice and Revelation from Heaven, as among the *Jews*. But, for the Generality of Mankind, and the rest of the World, he has left them, as the wise Man tells us, *in the Hands of their own Counsels. Christ's Kingdom is not of this World.* Nor has he ever been known, from the first Day of his Incarnation, to call or consecrate any Man to Power and Dominion, merely Secular, by any of his Apostles or Prophets in an extraordinary Way. All that he does peculiarly in this Matter, is, by giving Laws to hold us fast to Duty and Allegiance ; confirm and ratify the Covenants we have made, and the Oaths we have taken ; empower the Person whom the Law has appointed to be our Prince ; overrule all the Actions and Counsels both of Prince and People, as seems best to his divine Wisdom, and for the Good of his Church. And lastly, when he pleases to alter the Government, not by permission barely, which wicked and unreasonable Men may extort from him, but by his own Act and Approbation, he so disposes and orders Affairs and Persons, that by the Laws and Rights among

among Men, it is transfered to another. *Think not that I am come to destroy the Law; I am not come to destroy but to fulfil.* This, though spoken by our Saviour in Relation to the *Mosaical* Law, is verified likewise of him in Relation to the Law of Nature, and of Nations, and the Municipal Laws of every particular Kingdom, so far as they are not repugnant to that Supreme Law of his, laid down in the Holy Scripture. *He comes not to destroy but to fulfil them; not to supersede or evacuate them, but to hold us the faster and the closer to them; to make us the more dutiful and observant to them in our several Places and Relations, whether of Nature, Nations, or those of our own Land.*

And this the Apostle has plainly intimated. When, as a Motive of all chearful ready Obedience, of Wives to their Husbands, of Children to their Parents, of Servants to their Masters, and so of Subjects to their Sovereigns; he tells us, that in obeying them, we obey not Men but God, even the Lord Christ. Whereby it appears, that their Laws are not Col. 3. 24. their Laws, but Christ's. And that he dictates to us by their Mouths, this being that which, as it preserves Peace and a decent Subordination among Men, does admirably set forth the Excellency of Christ's Oeconomy and Government of the World, with such a Power of Wisdom (as becomes him that is the Wisdom of the Father) as without making use of the Strength of his Arm, or doing every Thing by mere Force, he does yet effect and bring to pass what Alterations he pleases in the World, by his wonderful and wise disposing the Counsels and Affairs of Men to his designed Issue. *Attingit à fine usq; ad finem fortiter,* says the wise Man, & *disponit omnia suaviter,*

Wis. 8. 1. *viter. Wisdom reacheth from one End to another mightily; and sweetly does she order all Things, Fortiter & suaviter mightily and sweetly.*

And therefore supposing only paternal Power, or the Authority of Parents over their Children immediately from God; and wherein the Child to be under Obedience was never ask'd his Ay or No, to assent or differ: The mediate or more remote Way I shall grant to be in our own Choice and Election. Which yet, after we have determined and bound our selves; bored our selves, as it were, through the Ear, by entring into Oaths and Promises of Obedience (those two ἀμείδιελα καὶ ἀνυμείδιελα, Heb. 6.) we are then as fast and as irreversibly bound, for so long as we have bound our selves, as if we were bound immediately by God, and a Voice from Heaven. And, as it was with the Servant bored through the Ear, there is no Jubilee to set us free.

Consider the Case of *Ananias's* Sacrilege, *Acts 5*. The same Sin as *Achan's*, *Josh. 7*. And both punished with Death, though *Achan's* was in stealing Part of that which God had immediately and by himself, consecrated to himself, *The Wedge of Gold, and the Babylonish Garment*: *Ananias's* in detaining Part of that which he himself, of himself, had dedicated to God's Service. Which, to shew it was by this Promise and Consecration of his, as holy now and irrevocable, as if God had immediately consecrated it himself; St. Peter tells him οὐκ ἐψεύσω ἀνθρώπους, ἀλλὰ τῷ Θεῷ, *Thou hast not lyed unto, or cheated Men, but God*. So to whom we give our lawful Promise of Subjection and Obedience, thereby discriminating that Person from the rest of the Lump, setting him up in a peculiar Reference to God Almighty, to whom all our Obedience

Obedience and Subjection is especially due, which is the proper Notion of Consecration ; he is then as truly sacred, and to be used *cum discrimine* with Respect and Reverence by us, as if God had placed him by Name in this Authority over us. Whilst it remained was it not our own ? was it not in our own Power ? But to go back and withdraw our Allegiance ; after Vows, to make Enquiry, What is *Moses* and *Aaron*, that we murmur against them ? Our Murmurings, and so our Disobedience and Rebellions, are not against them, but against the Lord.

Nay, to shew that this mediate or more remote Way, as we call it, of our own Choice and Election, is yet, after our Choice is made, as truly God's Act, ratified and confirm'd by him, as if he had done it immediately and by himself, it does in some Degrees and Species of it lawfully make null, and is preferred by God before that Authority which he brings us under without our selves. Thus the Obedience we owe to the Authority of our Parents whom we are brought under merely and immediately by God, and where he does wholly chuse for us, yet ceases and gives way to the Duty between the Husband and his Wife ; which is of our own Election. *For this Cause shall a Man leave Father and Mother, and cleave to his Wife.* And by this Resemblance of the Case between a Man and his Wife, we shall be able more explicitly to reconcile and unite the mediate and immediate Way of God in placing of Rulers over us.

God did marry *Adam* and *Eve* together immediately and by himself. *Of the Rib made he a Woman*, says the Text, *and he brought her unto the Man.* But to others there is a Liberty and Freedom given them not to marry necessarily this or

that Man ; this or that Woman ; but at their own Choice and Liking. But now when they have made their Choice, determined and tied up this their former Liberty in the Marriage-knot : God himself has done it ; and it is, even the Marriage of this particular Man and Woman, as truly and verily God's Act, as if He had done it (and not Man) immediately by himself. For so says our Saviour, even of these so married, *Quos Deus conjunxit, &c. Whom God has joyn'd together* (so as to be sacred and inseparable) therefore (but by God himself, till Death us do part) *let not Man put asunder.*

Now God may be said to to marry the King and the Children of *Israel* together (as *Adam* and *Eve*) immediately and by himself, by an open and profess'd Revelation from Heaven. But the rest of the World he has left at liberty, as to be married to this or that Man ; so to be governed not necessarily by this or that Authority, this or that King and Family ; but at their own Choice and Election. But when this Choice is once made and determined ; when the People have elected this Man for their King ; placed him as their Head and Supreme by sacred Oaths of Allegiance in the Presence of God, to tie and assure themselves for ever in Subjection to him (as the Woman to her Husband in the holy Estate of Matrimony) *Vox populi est vox Dei* : 'Tis then as verily God's Act, as if he had by a Voice from Heaven sent a Prophet to anoint this Man King over this People : The People have no more to do ; he is then sacred and unalterable. *Whom God hath joyn'd together, let not Man put asunder.*

But now when the People, who are one Body, as the Woman, but yet *Corpus fluidum* a successive Body ; as we call a River the same River to day
as

as yesterday, though there be not one Drop of the same Water in the Channel to day which we saw yesterday : So the same People, though one Generation passeth and another cometh ; when they, I say, for the better Security of their own Times, and to provide likewise for this Succession, do elect and swear Fealty to the King, and his Heirs after him, and lawful Successors : Those his Heirs in their several Ages and Successions, must needs be thought, by Virtue of this first Election, to have the same Right and Authority confer'd upon them by God, as irreversibly and indispensably as to the People, as he who was first placed in Supremacy over them. Whom God has joyn'd together, has the same Force here, as formerly. And as at or by the Death only of every particular King, they are free'd and at Liberty from this particular King (as the Woman at the Death of her Husband) so they cannot be absolv'd from the Succession but by the Death and ἀπαρισμὸς of the whole Royal Line, and who were of Right to succeed.

Saul was anointed, indeed, King over *Israel* only in his own Person. But when God settles it upon *David*, and his Seed after him, as with us to the King and his Heirs, 'tis very observable they were not anointed afresh in their several Successions (as they need not with us any new and particular Election of the People) but the Ointment upon the Head ran down upon the Beard, and went down to the Skirts of his Cloathing : And so the Hem of this Royal Robe, the very farthermost in the Succession, has God's Anointing, viz. the People's lawful Election upon him. Which they cannot reverse, though to take Place only (as *David's* actual personal Anointing did not prefer him to the Crown till the Death of *Saul*)

Saul) when by the Death of those before him it rightly and regularly descends upon him. For so the Anointing the King with Oil, was but an Emblematical Ceremony of placing that Person so anointed in Supremacy above the rest; from that peculiar Quality in Oil, to be uppermost and supreme in all Mixtures (and therefore the Lord's Anointed, in the Old Testament, is called the Supreme in the New. *Whether to the King as Supreme. 1 Pet. 2. 13.*) which is done *viva voce*, or in Words at length, in the People's Election. And therefore to chuse or to anoint a King or *Synonoma's*, are Words of the same Signification. So in *Jotham's Parable, Judg. 9. 8.* When the Trees went forth to chuse a King, they went forth, it is said, to anoint a King over them. And in the 15th Verse, *If in Truth ye anoint me King over you, i. e. make me your King, ver. 16.*

Exod. 30. 31. And then the Anointing-Oil was holy, as we may read in several Places, 39. 38
Psal. 89. 20. to shew that the King's Person was, by this Anointing, become Sacred. His sacred Majesty, as we used to say, not to be prophaned therefore by rude or common Usage. *Touch not mine Anointed: And, Who can stretch forth his Hand against the Lord's Anointed, and be guiltless?*

In brief, God's Method in setting up of a King, was, anciently, by sending a Prophet with Commission to pour Oil upon the Head of that Person whom he designed for that Honour. Now the People is that Prophet. God's sending the Prophet with Commission to anoint such a Person, is his opening a fair lawful Way, and enclining the Hearts of the People to the Election of this Person: And the People's Voices and Suffrages, pour'd upon him in the Election, is the very holy Oil

Oil upon his Head, whereby he is made Sacred and Irresistible. Where, first, the Suffrage of the People is the Oil of the Prophet. Which, as the Prophet might not be pouring out first upon this Person, and then upon that, as often as he pleases, but only when God sends him : So, nor are the People empower'd to reject this and elect a new King, but when God gives them Commission, that is to say, when a fair Vacancy and utter Extinction is made of the Person and Family whom they had formerly chosen. In the mean time the Prophet has nothing to do with the Oil ; nor have the People any Voice and Suffrage whereby to confer Sovereignty on any. And secondly, as in the Anointing with Oil, the Prophet that poured the Oil, yet was not he that gave the Power, but the Means and Messenger only by whom it was conveyed ; and therefore was himself subject to the King as soon as he was thus anointed by him. So the People, in their Election and Impowering any by their Suffrage, are not to be look'd upon as the Authors and Donors of the Power, but the Means and Instrument only whereby God conveys it to this Person. *There is no Power but of God.* Neither the Prophet nor the People had *Jus vite & necis*, Power of Life and Death over others, much less, over themselves ; and not having it, cannot be supposed to bestow it (*Nihil dat quod non habet*) which therefore must needs be derived to him from a higher Original. And the People in their fullest freest Convention, when they are most the People, remain still in the Condition of the People ; as the Prophet in the Case before, in a Degree, that is to say, of Subjection and Inferiority to the King set over them.

That there may be, indeed, a King, as there is a Duke, of *Venice*, inferior to the Senate and
Body

Body of the People, we have before acknowledged. But such an One is, as I have said, abusively call'd a King. And the arraying him with Royal Title, and denying him the Power of it, is but the same Piece of Mockery as when *Herod* cloathed our Lord in Purple, and put a Reed in his Hand, viz. a Scepter that must bow and give way at every Blast of the People. The Colours that wash off were never laid in Oil. He that is truly a King, is as truly Supreme. And that ours in this Kingdom is truly and rightly such, if it be not granted before, may be proved evidently by the Oil of his Anointing; and so at large from the Body of our Laws; and most undeniably from that particular Law, which, with so much Penalty, does urge and require it of us, to swear, in expresse Terms, That the King's Highness is Supreme in these Realms. And lest there might be Room left for coping or joining others in Supremacy with him to intermingle other Liquors with this Holy Oil, by fancying a Co-ordination between the King and his Parliament, as was once pretended: It is yet more plain and full in the Words of the Oath. The King's Highness not only is Supreme, but the only Supreme Governor in this Realm. And being so, it is thereby evident, that all the Sacredness and Immunities of the Lord's Anointed in the Old Testament: All the Honours and Prerogatives which are affixed to the Higher Powers in the New: *Whether to the ἐξουσία καὶ κράτος in St. Paul; or to the βασιλεὺς καὶ κράτος in St. Peter,* does truly and properly belong unto him. His Non-possession will not allow us in a Non-subjection. Honour, and Custom, and Tribute, says *St. Paul*, not where these are claim'd, but where these are due. And to be subject for Conscience Sake, as we are enjoined, never respects

spects how high or how low our King is; how near or how far off; but has the same Force upon us, even when we have least Reason to be afraid of his Wrath.

And therefore, to drive this to the Quick, St. Paul's Sword has two Edges. The first against the *Romanists*; who, upon the Pope's Account, and in Obedience to him, do take Liberty of disobeying their King. Against these in the first Words. *Let every Soul be subject to the Higher Powers.* *Καὶ Περσῆτης, καὶ Ἀπόστολῆς*, says St. Chrysostom on the Place, though he be a Prophet or Apostle. The Pope is included in *Πᾶσα Ψυχή*, every Soul, and so falls himself, as to any Thing in his Papacy, under Subjection. The Higher Powers refer'd to in this Place, being plainly not the Ecclesiastical, but the Civil Magistrate; not the Power of the Keys, but of the Sword, as he is described in the 4th Verse. *For he beareth not the Sword in vain*: Not the Rod or Keys of Excommunication, but the Sword of Execution. And then secondly, against those popular Partisans who derive from the People and rebel upon their Account. Every Soul will fetch them in too, as comprehending under it *Singula generum, & genera Singulorum*. All Sorts, and every one of all Sorts which is not the Supreme. And they that resist, says the Apostle, though they be as many as can be apprehended under the Word, They. Which sure will reach from *Dan* to *Beersheba*, and include the whole People, though being a They so numerous and so great a Multitude, they may possibly prevail so far as to make sure of him for calling them to Account, or avenging himself upon them. Yet they shall not escape the Vengeance of God. *They shall receive to themselves Damnation* *ἐαυτοῖς ἀντιδοῦναι*, as they have been *ἐαυτοῖς λαβόντες*.

λαβόντες. Because they have taken the Sword, and taken Honour to themselves, to themselves likewise they shall receive Damnation. The Pretence of Rebellion is always, indeed, for the common Good : But the Design being wholly for themselves, for their own Advantages and Preferments, to ingross the Wealth and Royalty to themselves ; just it is, that they should receive to themselves Damnation : That is to say, in so full, ample, and infinite a Measure, as if Damnation, which is the common Portion of the Wicked, were ingrossed and appropriated only to themselves.

T H E E N D.

